

THE ANNALES OF Scotland in some part continued from the time in which Holinshed left,

*being the yeare of our Lord 1571, untill the yeare of our
redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie
called Thin.*



Oocrates (good reader) being demanded how a man might speake that which should be best and acceptable to all men, most wifelie (as one in all his life wholie giuen to serch and laie the truth in euerie thing) answered: That we then speake best & most to be allowed, when we speake nothing but that which we best and perfectlie know. For we know nothing excellente well, but such things as are often heard by vs from others, manie tirthes repeated by our fles; and that which is commonlie received, imbraced, appreoted, and vedyd by all men. Now those things are most vedyd which concerne publike affaires, and such publike affaires are most knowne when they end in publike action; & publike action, so farre forth as it concerneth the thing done, must needs be true that the same was so done in that order, as it was openlie seene to be done. Wherby might be concluded, that in dironicling and treating of publike affaires, we shoulde speake that which is best, which is most acceptable, & most true: because we report things done in the eies of all men. But how trulie that is performed in some new writers, it is well knowne to all men of judgement.

For such is the affection of our age, that some of malice, and some for flatterie, and euerie one to feed their owne disposition, doo so glorie things publikie done, as with a certeine witcherie of words, they like Circes transforme the things done in publike shew to be of other shapes than they were indeed. Wherby Socrates maie now seeme to be confuted, in saing, that they speake best that speake things received of all men, and that be common to the world: for so shall misreporting and flatterie, a thing commonlie knowne and vedyd of all men, be the best speed; which in truth neither is nor can be. Now what I haue seene and knowne in that, as well of things at home as of things abroad, I forbear to write; and for that cause also might most iustlie restraine my pen (writting vpon the report of others) both now and hereafter from treating of such publike affaires, to the end my selfe should not run into the danger of a like falsifier or misreporter. But then on the contrarie part, when I fall to an other exposition of the same faleng of Socrates, that he speakest best, that speaketh that which he best knoweth, and that we best know the things which are commonlie received, and that we receiue those for soundest which time trieth to be most true, and those things which be most true are such as are knowne to be publikie done; I suppose I shall speake best and most acceptable in writing publike affaires; considering that I am not sworne to anie faction, nor carried with hate or loue, nor bewitchid with promise of gaine or honour, nor inforced to turne to the right or left hand, but onelie left at libertie to make truth the daughter of time to be the common end, knowledge, and report of publike things: sith the end of labor, of contemplation of studie, & fruit of writing (as appeareth 2. Met. 4.) is the attaining of truth, and not that perpetuall or memorie of a famous name or report, a thing alwayes sought by me to be avoided, being onlie content in secrecie to relie my selfe vpon the recording of truth, which of all things (in my mind) is most pleasant, because the same is alwaie a conqueror. For as faith Ne hemias, Truth is great and dooth mightylike preuale. Wherefore, as I said, sith those things be most true & best knowne which are publikie done, and that they are publikie done that sort to anie action in the commonwelth: we then conclude that we write best and most acceptable, when we trulie set downe a common truth of common occurrents done in the common-wealthe; because that such things trulie reported, doo conclude with Socrates that we speake and write best in declaring a deed trulie done, in that order (without ambages, gloes, or parcialties) as the same was most trulie performed touching the truth of that outward act.

Accept therefore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuall of the Annales of Scotland vnvillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had beeene sacrilege for me to haue gainsaid. And therefore rather carelesse to hazard the hard opinion of others, descanting vpon my sudden leaping into the printers shop (especiallie at the first in a matter of such importance) than the loss of the long and assured friendship of thosie which vnlaid this heauie charge vpon my weake shoulders, I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisfie all mens minds and judgements, that for fauour of persons, times, & actions will like Proiects at their owne pleasure make blacke seeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie shape, & curioslie carpinge at my barrennes in writing, because I omit manie things in this my continuall of the Annales of Scotland, & haue reported things in other formes than some mens humors would haue me to do. I will deuise thee to consider for the first that the Scots themselves, besides manie others of our owne nation are the caule thereof. Who either for feare durst not, or for pretended aduise and consultation in the matter would not, or for the restraint of others might not, impart to me such things as should both concerne the honour of the Scottis nation, and the substance of their owne caule. For the other matter, if I shoulde bind my stile to the affections of some, I shoulde breake the rule of Socrates, and not speake the best, sith I shoulde then speake publike and commonlie things, publikie knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publikie seene to be done of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a disdeined reporter.

Now, pp.

The Preface.

Now if thou which art the reader, thinke that I (vnaquainted with matters of state, especiallie in an other country, better knowne to all men than to my selfe) am far vnable to breake the dangerous ice of such matters, and so more vmeet to enter into the bofome of princes (whose harts as Salomon saith are vnsearcheable) should for my vnauidednesse se me worthie the punishment of Prometheus, that stale the fier from Jupiter, and caried it abrode into the world, because the affaires of princes are not to be made common, to be submitted to the censure of their subiects, nor to be written vntill the ashes of all those whome the things concerne were vtterlie consumed: thou must yet remember that men haue escaped punishment in dealing with higher matters than with things of chronicles, or of such like which onelie touch the life of the bodie. And therefore in punishing thereof vpon Prometheus, Jupiter went beyond himselfe. For if the greater, that is for matters touching the soule, went not onelie free from punishment, but received eternall reward, as after shall appere, how much more should Prometheus haue beeene spared, that but onelie medled with the bodie? Now it is manifest that in diuinice and matters of the soule (a thing that so far exceedeth the bodie as the sunne dooth the moone, as angels do inferior creatures, and as light dooth darkenesse) there be manie which haue leapt into heauen, and by contemplation placed their pen amongst the sonnes of God in writing, and laien abrode to the world (as much as in them laie) the vnsearcheable works of the Almighty, Whereof we cannot comprehend the least cause, order or perfection, and haue therefore not onelie not received punishment, but eternall reward both in bodie and soule; as Enoch was translatel to paradise; Elias taken vp in a fierie chario; Paula rapt vp into the third heauen, with manie others. For which cause I saie, if they which lepped into matters farre beyond the reach of men, to ex parte in the meanest degree of perfection, were not punished for medling therein, and writing thereof; much lesse ought I to be punished with Prometheus in medling with the discource of matters vpon the earth, and such as concerne the actions of mortall creatures; as battels, mutations of kingdome, death of princes, and such other earthlie accidents. Into which yet I would not haue so rashlie descended, or taken so hard a prouince in hand, had not (as before I said) the commandement of such as I durst not gainsaie, interponed it selfe as a shield to receiue and beat backe the sharpe darts of eniuious tonges. For which cause sith I was bound to him by deßart, and that he had better opinion of me than there was cause whie; I feared not (though I deemed it the part of him which doubted the iudgement and reproch of the wifer sort, not to haue hazarded his credit) to enter into this dangerous sea, being not so much furnished with hope to performe it well, as desirous to discharge the request of him, and to shew the hope I conceaved at the well acceptance thereof by thee. In which discourse I had rather good reader thou shouleſt complaine of want of sufficiencie in me to performe so hard a thing: than that he should mislike of my goodwill in anſwering his desire. And should I feare to enter heereinto, being a thing meet onclie for great counsellors and men priuie of matters of estate; as though there were no place for Greeke poets but onelie to Homer and Sophocles; and for Latine poets, but to Virgill, Ouid, and Horace? Did the singularitie and ampleſneſſe of Platons knowledge in philosopie feare Aristotle to write in the like argument? Or hath Aristotle staied the pen of others? Shall no man be painters but Appelles or Zeuxis, or caruers or grauers but Phidas and Lysias? Shall no man be oratours but Cicero, Quintilian, and Demosthenes? Shall none write histories but Cæſar, Liuius, Sabellicus, Paulus Iouius, Comineus, Guicciardine, or ſuch like? Or ſhall none deliuere their trauell to the world because they cannot write in Engliſh as did ſir Thomas Moore, ſir John Checke, Roger Askam, Gefferie Fenton, or John Lilie? Yes trulie, for when they haue doone their beſt, and written what they can, a man may yet imagine a far more excellent thing, even of and in that wherin they haue beſt trauelled, written, painted, or graued, and that even by the ſelfe fame thing which they haue doone. And more good reader thou canſt not doo either vpon the baſenes of my title, the diſorder of the matter, or the barrenenesſe of ſupplieng of things requiſit for the furniſhing and maieſtie of an historie, than to ſuppoſe and ſaie that a better forme and method of writing, a more ample diſcourse for the matter, and a tweeter ſtyle for the manner might haue beeene had for the hiftorie of Scotland, than that which I haue ſet downe. Wherefore if the beſt writers be ſubiect to these faults, that when they haue ſpent all their wit, eloquence, and art, there is yet ſomewhaſt to be deſired in them, as well as in me the meanest writer, I am content to beare all ſpeeches, and deſire thee to thinke what I would doo, and not what I ſhould doo; to excuse me by others, and not to condenme me with others; to accept this in that ſort as I haue meant it, and rather with mildneſſe to pardon my imperfections, than with malice to barkē at my well meaning. Besides which, if thou ſhalt deeme this worke and continuation of mine for Scotland, ought to haue beene conſecrated to the fauourable acceptance, and honourable protection of him to whom the firſt volume was dedicated; I anſwer (besides that I am to him an eſtranger, and not to beg vndeserved fauour of anie person, and that the firſt patrone of this ſcotiſh hiftorie is now in the low countries beyond the ſea) this is a thing by me ſo ſlenderlie doone, that it meriteth not his honourable iudgement, or the learned view or patronege of anie other of the nobilitie. For if it had, I would then haue beſtowed the ſame vpon thoſe to whom I haue alreadie conſecrated my ſelfe, whatſoever I am, hauing long before this couenant with my bodie, onelie to tie it vnto their good commandement. For hauing but one heart, I cannot dilate it to ſerue and offer it ſelfe to manie persons, conſidering that where is but one heart, there muſt needs be but one waie: and he that will beſtowe one heart vpon manie persons, muſt diuid the ſame into manie portions, and to diſmember it, that in the end it will be no heart at all; or els he muſt go to the ſhambles to prouide manie ſheepes hearts, to beſtow vpon thoſe manie to whom he will bind his manie ſeruices: for which cauſe I may neither choose a new patrone, nor dedicate this to the old, but onelie to thee the fauourable reader. Now before I kniſt vp this exordium (whidi may ſeeme to thee in reſpect of the following hiftorie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance wherinto being verie great, occaſioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to ſhut thoſe great gates, leaſh that little towne did run out thereat) I am to admoniſh thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the hiftorie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor ſenſe for ſenſe, ſet downe the writings of Lelius or Buchanan, but haue choſen out the matter as I thought beſt and apt to my deſire. After which ſort I haue likewiſe in this my continuation of the anales of that countrie, not ſet downe or diſſeuled things to the world, that ſort and ſtyle as I haue received intelligence thereof, but onelie culled forth ſuſh matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and chaleng. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth beſt that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this ſand: that I cannot diſcoure of this hiftorie as I willinge wold: that I ought not to forbeare to write bicaue I cannot in ſtyle and matter equall the beſt: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I haue purpoſelie in generall dedicated this labouer to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable peron: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I ſparinge to enter into the continuation of the anales of Scotland (being ſuſh as thou maſt be content to read, and am contented to write) in this ſort as heere followeth, making my firſt entrance thereinto with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whom he Holinſhed diſheded his chronicle and lo to the matter, after this long and tedious detaining of thee from the ſame.

Francis Thin.



THE CONTINUANCE of the annales of Scotland, from

the death of the regent *Matthew earle of Lennox.*

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Colen.

The earle of
Mornay
regent of
Scotland.

that faction, taking part with the king, assembled themselves for the creating of a new regent, to which function they named three, and those first by them compelled to yield to the voices of the nobilitie. The three appointed by them were Gisbert Campbell, earle of Argyll, James Douglas earle of Morton, and John Arclaine earle of Mar. But in the end, upon consultation which of these to most easies, both helthfull and honorable in the realme, and blyng, were most to yield to troublesome and dangerous adiuerce; in the end it was laid upon the shoulders of the last of the three, to whom (they thought inclining) gave full authoritie to execute the office of a regent. At the first entrance into which place, this Arclaine, having nothing more blyng, or desirous to any of him, than the helthfull, and recouerte of the castell and town of Edinboroughe (out of the hands of the queenes faction) to the use of his master and pupill (therby to the last calende of October he was appointed with a sufficient armie by the late decessed regent his predecessor) he was now hindered therof by sudden (and unlooked for) turmbles of the estates of the realme. Whereupon for that instant the same was prologed to the last of the said moneth of October. Which deale was after occasion of great impeyment for the recoverie the rooff, because it ministred time, power, substance, and succor, to the citizens and captiue, to minre and strengthen the castell and towne, when the sharpe winter, the long nighte, the bad cartage for the wars, preparation, and the want of sufficient furniture therfore (at the same time with the said turmbles) occasioned deparure from meane, without dispatch of that for which he came.

Certeine moneths after that the regent was gone from thence, there were some few, and small exercissons and skirmishes used amongst them; the victorie inclining to neither part. For the free fighte was out of the castell of Edinboroughe, towards

the euerie part of the countrey. It was thought, that the queenes faction shold neither come to hand strokcs, nor yet being vnymed, shold be intrayed with the deceits of their enimies: because by a private to
be given out of the highest towre of the castell, they were easlie warneid to recolle and blyng home ward in convenient time. At which morrow standing, they once fel the smart of the enimie, when all the hoste and soldiern were come out of the towne to intercept a part of the kings armie. For the kings faction

Skirmishes
about Edin-
boroughe.

(having first laid an ambush in the vallie) did with the rest come before the castell, in hope to traime the towne garrison upon them out of the wals of their defens, whiche their expectation was not deceivē. For the said Edinborougers made hast out of the towne, to purue the said part of the kings armie, which remaynē a syde slig, to han the other part further from defens of the castell. By means therof, they of the towne did so erlye purue them so shelyng, that in the end they went so far after their enimies, that they drew neare the ensignes of the other ambush, now shewing themselves out of the battell to recolle their fellowes put to this seimed slig. Which shing was well perceyved by the watch of the castell of Edinboroughe, forthwith it gaue the appointed shig, whereby thole on the queenes part (before that they came neare to the place in which they were laid) began scartfus to recolle for their better safetie; whose slig was the more troublesome to them, because they knew they were in danger, and could not helpe from wens of how their hurt shold come, although they were before warneid therof by the said watch of the towre. In which recouerte of the queenes part, the few soldiern which had before seimed the slig (to draw on the other) returned, and made syng hast on the backe of the soldiern, that the soldiern were inforsid with all the sped that myght be ridde into the citie, the next wate that eneie man could fin to his best defense: at that time yet many of them were wounded, and manie taken pilote, as well captiue and gentlemen of armes, as others.

In ambush
laid by the
kings faction

Whilest these things were thus slawle performed, in that the towne of Edinboroughe was with so moze heat sought to be recouered, a miserable misfortune happened in another part of Scotland: for a great daunger was in the north end of the realme occa-
sioned by this means. There were in that countrey two families of great power and authoritie, both
valiant and wise, both harboiring deadlie foy of lang
fosten betwene them. These two were of the sier
names of Gordon, and of Forboise, whereof the first
lived with great conceit and attitie amongst the an-

The queenes
part warneid
by the watch
of Edinbo-
rough castell.

They which
late in ambush
purue those
that came
forth to set
by the kings
part.

Edinboroughe
Gordon and
the Forboise

The Forboles
disagree
among them-
selves.

Arthur For-
boise.

Adam Goz-
don dis-
puncteth
the union of
the Forboles.

Arthur For-
boise slaine.

The For-
boles put to
fight.

The house,
great bellied
wife, and chil-
dren of Alex-
ander For-
boise burnt.

The For-
boles receive
aid from the
king.

selues, and by the kings sufferaunce had manie years governed the people adioining unto them, whereby they purchased both strength amongst themselves, and the helpe of other men towards them: when contrarie, the Forboles were at warre one with another, vaille imparied the ir owne strength by their owne slauishers, and in the end wrought their owne confusion, for euerie divided kingdome cannot long continue. But yet though this secret rancor did still remaine amongst these families, they did not in manie yeares before attempt any open warres the one against the other, rather living in secret emulation, than open enemtie, becausse they had in wate of some shew of reconciliation by marriage intermingled both their families together. Among these Forboles, there was one called Arthur (a man of singular witt, and of no lesse readie hand to perforne his deuise) who had alwaies followed the kings part to his vermost, from the first time of these discordes. This man therefore supposing this to be the time (now or neuer) wherin he must honor himselfe and his name, increase the substance of that part which followed him, & supprese the rage of the Gordons, first laboured to bring his familie to battell, and inuicti loue, for all vertue gathered into it selfe is greatest strength. The which if he might compasse (as by anie possible meane he would leue no stone unturnid that might furthir it) he was then in so godd safetie as he desired. For then was there not anie faction or familie in those parts what soeuer, whose wealth or strength he doubted, and whose state or authoritie he did feare.

For furtherance of whiche purpos, when, date and place was appointed to assemble the Forboles togidher, Adam Gordon, the brother of the earle of Huntly (deuising by all politie he might to hinder the same, and hauing priuie intelligence therof by his kin, fauourers, and followers) came with a great power of armid men unto the same place (at the time appointed for the assemble of the Forboles) to breake off these union. And although there were two troupes of the Forboles, whiche wistlye appered in their sight, yet before they could winte these strengthes, Adam Gordon speedily set upon the one armie (not readie to be succoured by the other) and in the middle thereof did kill this Arthur Forboise, who being the hope of all that race and now slaine, his death did to amaze the other, that soothlye the rest were scorne ouerthowne, scattered, and fled each one as he myght best shifte for himselfe. In which unhappie conflit some persons of name were presentlie killeed, and manie others taken and refrefhed for ransome. Wherupon the residue (feareing more crueltie should be used upon the prisoners, loath to haue anie more of their race to be cut awaie, and givynge place to the time present) withdrew themselves from the fight, and never attempted anie thing afterward in the revengement of their ouerthowne. Whiche feare and wiste suppreſſion of revengement grew not without iſſe, supposing that their aduerſaries (if they were further vrged) would shew no more mercie to such as they had prisoners, than they did to the house of Alexander Forboise before time, which they burnt with his great bellied wife and the other of his chilidren.

The eldest brother of Arthur (who was the cheife of that familie) hauing his house so spoiled, and himſelfe hardlie escaping from his enemities hands, hastened to the court, from whence (thoſe the matter was in great extremitie) he was by the king to be releued. For which cause there were appointed two hundred footmen to ſuch of the nobilitie as fauourid and followed that faction, with letters to the adioining nobilitie to affociate themſelves to the part of

the Forboles. These thus conſiderat and came together to the rest of the Forboles, with certeine other families of their adiuynge neighbours, to aduaciate the ſpirit of this Alexander, that he moche thought himſelfe ſufficiente fended againſt all the forces of his aduerſaries. But as the ir number were alſo ſo, there wanted amongſt them one perſon ſufficiente to inioy the place of a capteine, whome the rest might follow, with all the principall and heads of the families were almoſt young men, and ſcarſe one better than other in deare of calling. Wherefore the aſſemblie being diudiven into diuerſe companies (for they were inioyed to ſollioſe ſeverall leaders) John Reh with ſix hundred horſemen departed to his houſe not far from thence. Alexander Forboile with his retinie and thoy hundred footmen wents to Averden, to expell Adam Gordon from thence, and to re- pare his armie in the tourne.

Adam Gordon (not ſleeping his affaires, knowing the preparation of the Forboles, and underſtanding the amoych of his enemie ſo neare with ſo ſmall company) alſo with his people, led them out of the towne, and compelled the ciſtens to follow to make the number of his armie to ſeeme the greater. Shortlie after in a field neare adioining to the towne, the two companies met, and a ſharpe conſlit was committed betwene them. In which the kings ſoldiern (appointed to the Forboles) deliuered (more hauylye than wiſe) to fight, and adventuring further in following of the Gordons (than their ſhot of powder wold continue) they went so far, that in the end (being out of the reach of defense to helpe of their company) they were put to fearefull flight by the boymen of the Gordons, who pursued them egerlie, and conſtituted the battell untill night. At that time there were not manie of the vanquished flaine, but moche taken and refrefhed as prisoners, amongſt whiche was the ſaid Alexander Forboile taken, after that he had long and valiantlie defended himſelfe againſt his enemis in the ſame conſlit, to the perpe- tual glorie of that houſe.

After the iuſtification of the Forboles in the marsh parts, the quene ſauouers were higheſt in corra- Jedworth
defended
from aſſaile ged to attempt greater matters. Wherefore aſſem- bling their power out of diuerſe parts of the king- dom, they bend their minis to the ſuppuling of Jedworth, a towne which after the manner of the countie is unwallid and unſentid, but onely with the ſtrengthe of the inhabitants: which towne (cer- taine yeares past had ſtronglie reflied the force of the quene ſation. There into this towne were neighebours Thomas Car of Fernherſt, and Walter Scot, both whiche beſides their owne retinie had ioyned unto them the people of the next countie, being Lihedſdale, Criftan, and Eſkine, alwaies trou- bled with roberie and gluem to ſpoile, who at that time by the libertie of war ſtreke without reſtraint, did waner into furher countieſ, to prete, ſpoile and catch that they could. Beſides whom there were also in Lichſtſeld (alſo by the infection of theſe countieſ, as by the cuſtome of ſpoiling in the warrs, for theſe warrs were by iſſe made an other nature and priuilege, as it were from the noſte and paine of ſin) great families defaiſed with ſuch theſt and rapines, and not theſt alone (whiſh this poſon had crept al- Buchan, li. 20. moſt ouer all the land) but certeine of the next Eng- liſh paye beeing aliaſed with hope of prete, and ſuppoſing all thingſ lawfull in ciſill warrs) joined togidher; and (to make theſt number the greater, and theſt power the stronger) caſled from Edenborouſh one hundred and twentie harquebūſhers, choſen out of the cheifeſ ſouldiers, to be aliaſant unto them.

The inhabitants of Jedworth (not ignorant of their intent, and conſidering wherewiſo all this pre- paration

walter C
ſent to de
Zeworth

The For-
boles follow
ſeverall lea-
ders.
John Reh
departed.
Alexander
Forboile go-
eth to Aver-
den.

The For-
boles ouer-
thowne
ſides Aver-
den.

William
Bathwin
with a pi-
canning
Dulbury

walter C
bonch ſr
william
Bathwin

The q
faction i
waſe.

Thomas
Car.
walter Scot

Rutha
with hi
me con
to Haw

The q
faction
throu
Difer
Haw

paration tended) with spedle & fearefull messengers signifi unto John Areskine earle of Mar & regent, the present danger wherem they stood, craving some succor of light furnished souldiers to be sent to them, whch forwith was granted accordynge. Whereupon Walter Car of Stefford, being called before the regent for that cause, had the charge of such aid granted unto him, as a person who both for valure & experience was of sufficiencie to discharge anie such matter lated upon him. Besides whch, a conuenient number of sufficient souldiers, gathered out of the countries adioining, for that season assembled themselves in defense of the towne, & joined their armes with them at Jedwroth. At that time also to strike more feare in the one part & to aduance the courage of the other part, it was noised amongst both armes that William Ruthwne with a hundred shot and certeine horsmen (wherof he brought part with him, and part he gathered out of the marches adioining) were at the same time commynge to Daburze with the said Ruthwne. All whch notwithstanding, the quenes faction trysting to their owne strength consisting in multitude (for they were in number thre thousand men) did earlie in the morning draw towaards the towne, to preuent the commynge of such succours as both were promised, looked for, and then almost at hand. Whch being by Ruthwnes partie before suspekte, he hastened the people with more sped to follow them at the hailes, and by continuall shot weried the taile of his aduersaries with often assaults and skirmishes.

Walter Car also joining unto him and to his complices the townes men (readie to defend their tyls, their gods, their wifys, and their chylldren) stoke the direct waie towards his enimies, to the end the better to supprese them and their vntid force. Whch when the aduerser part perceiued, forwith they retured to places of more defense, lest they shuld incurre their enimies with doubtfull battell; and leasl being set vpon before and behind, they might be suddeinly inclosed, before they could be able to turne themselves, either to escape, or to preuent the approachynge enimie. At that time such as sought after spoile, and were allured to that warre with hope of gaine, being now by that means destracted of their pte, when they saw the towne manfullie defended, and the kings part readilie and stronglie come forth to battell, left the field, and departed evry man to his owne house, as it was nesciss to the place where they then remained. Whose sudden flight, without any occasion of danger, being understood of the chies of the rest of such as were of the quenes faction (supposing at the first nothing lesse than that the enimie would make vpon them) they also followed after the others, raised their campe, and departed to Hawike with the rest of their followers and compaines of footmen, hoping thereby to escape all danger, by reason of the sharpeesse of the winter and late fall of the snow, whch would staine the following of the enimie.

But Ruthwne, iudging it best to use the oportu-
nitie of time, did before date so spedle lead his armie to Hawike; that he was within a mile of his enimies, before they could by anie means be certified of his commynge. Whose spedle and unlooked for approach did strike such extreame feare into the hearts of those whch possessed Hawike, that there was no place left for anie consultation; but presentlie that evry one shold shif for himselfe as well as he might. Whereupon suddenlie bringing forth their horsses and footmen, and following the course of the next riuere, they attempted to withdraw into places of more safetie for themselves, and further from their enimies. But the horsmen of Ruthwne spedle following at their hailes, so preuented their de-

nise, that forlaking their fortyn, they fled ouer all the countrey to the places betwixt Hawike unto them.

Upon whch the fortyn be dig thus lea to the spoile and pte of their enemys, did for their inde feare, hide themselves in a little wood adioining to the said riuere. In whch, being on evry side beset with the force of their aduersaries (whch determined to pte vpon them) they did in the end whch yeld themselves with submision to their courtesie. Whereupon (sith they were not able like psoners, for their number was ouer great to be caried about from place to place in that sharpe winter) they were vpon their oþ to returne and become true psoners suffered harmelesse of boode, and losselesse of furniture to depart, some few being still retayned in that place as pledges for the others departed compaines. But when the tyme of their returne appoched, Kircawde deceyning their faith with his light promyses, forbad them to returne at their daie appoched, and made them incurre the note of perjurie. The rest of the winter, and all the next spring was passed forth with light skirmishes on both parties of the kings and quenes factions, in whch few lost their liues, and of that few more on the quenes than kings part. For the quenes fauourers, remaining in the mountayns next adioining to the citie, whlst they woulde take occasion and advantage to perfome anie thing well, woulde (scarle entring into the danger of the confit) for the most part retire and lie vnto the citie for more defense.

In the meane tyme, whlst these shings were thus ordered, there came manie ambassadours out of England, to pacifie these discords growne to these great extremities, betweene the king and the impsoned quenes factions. But the same ambassadour so well meant by the quene of England, and reiected by the seditions of Scotland, sorted not to that end whch was meant, nor as the state of Scotland required. Wherefore these ambassadours returned home without anie such dispatch as might answer their trauels, their mistresses care and loue, and the vrte of that quarrelsome people: by reason that the Frenchmen fauouring the cause of the banished quene, did not onelie hinder the peace and quiet of the Scots, for the benefit of the realme, but also sought warres for the destruction of they naturall subiects, and to bring in their owne gouernement; whch for the furthrance thereof, did with great promises intreteine the apt minds of the quarrelling faction, to kindle and maintaine the fire of continuall warre, vntill such tyme as by force they had gotten the vpper hand, and brought the kings fauourers to destruction. For the better suppot therof, the French king sent some portion of monte, whch being of it selfe not great; but such as their necessarie required, seemed rather sufficent to noyse an hope of abillite to maintaine the warres, than fullie to dispatch or desirae the charges of the affaires therein; and that the rather, because some part of that monte was ever devoured by such as had the cariage therof.

Amongst these shings there still continued, for a few moneths, certeine light skirmishes to little purpose betweene the aduerser parties. But the greater compaines, whch could not satise their eagles minds with little shys, absteine not from robbing and burning the countrey. For Adam Gordon, entring into Adam G.·: Angus, besieged the house of William Dowglasse don entreth Angus, and of Glenbervie: but after that long besiege, percey- besiegeth the house of william Dow- there was left, consuming it with fire and sword. glass. Whch tyrannie did strike such full impellion in The of Dunc- to the harts of those of Dundee, that they depairing de crane aid out of F. sc. of their owne abillite to resit them, called their

neighbours of Fife unto their aid; wher they were next adiouing unto them, unto whom also Gordon was a persecuting enimie continuallie in all that possiblie he might, because they constantlie and subiect like did in all dutie support the kings part.

Blacknesse betrayed.

Edenburgh
mills broken.

Prisoners
taken both on
the king and
queens part.

The queene
of England &
the French
king send am-
bassadores into
Scotland.

In abstinen-
ce of warre for
a time.

Sir william
Dyurie and
master Randolph
go into
Scot.land.

The death of
the earle of
Marre.

At which time Blacknesse being betrailyed to the Hamiltons by the keper of that castell, did greatlie hinder the traffike and passage betwene Leith and Sterling. For which cause the regent as a person that heedfullie looked into the dangers of that time, and wch wise foynest sought to prevent following euils, brake downe all the mills about Edenburgh, furnished all the noble mens houses and places of defense with garrisons were unto the towne, and closed by all passage to and from the cite. For nowe there was fresh skirmishing, and manie on both parts, as well of the king as of the deposed queene were taken prisoners, put to their ransom, compelled to abire their fation, kept in continuall prison, or else presentlie slaine.

These things thus depending, and the king and the deposed queenes fation contending still to support their parts, the matter did daile more and more grow to great slaughters: whch being well perceyued by foynene nations (pitteng the present calamities, and seeking to prouide to staine the following dissencion of that countrie which was like to be at hand upon these ciuill and unnaturall warres, if better or
der were not taken therfore) the queene of Eng-
land as the kings next and louing neigbour, and the French king also the confederat of Scotland, sent their ambassadores into the realme, to see what qualifi-
cation might be had in these troublesome and dan-
gerous times of the kings minoritie; hoping either to set a final end to these inconueniences, or at least to mitigate and staine that furie, that it shold not at that present, or during the kings minoritie passe ante
further. For the accomplishment whereof, sir Will-
iam Dyurie knight, and Thomas Randolph esquier, were sent from the queene of England: and mon-
sieur de Croque, who had also bene ambassador out
of France into Scotland before that time, was now againe sent thither from the French king.

These much about one time arryng in Scotland, and joining togither concerning the execution of their ambassage, dealt to effectuallie therein, that in the end they concluded an abstinence of warre to be had betweene the parties of the king and queenes fation, from that time whch was about the first of August, to continue untill the first of December following: and so brought both the parties in conclu-
sion to relie and abide the full determination of all quarels to be set downe by the queene of England, and the French king. Whch being done the ambassadores returned home, monsieur Croque into France, and sir William Dyurie and master Randolph into England.

In October following died the earle of Marre, regent of Scotland, of a linging sicknesse (as some affirme) but Lesleus saith lib. 10. pag. ultima, that morte repentina concidit) being buried in Allowaite a place of his owne, situat foure miles from Sterling, to whom in the erledome succeeded John earle of Marre, who after fled into England, as in this following discourse shall appere. Whch John Areskine earle of Marre the regent did marrie Annable Murrie daughter to the lard of Tulebarston, by whom he had issue this John, whch succeeded him in the earldome of Marre (as is before said) and one daughter whch was married to Archibald Dow-
glasie now earle of Angus: but he died without issue. Of which deceased Areskine earle of Marre, Buchanan composed these verses commendatorie, ex-
pressing the nature, vertues, qualities, and valour

of the last earle in this forme and maner following:

*Siquis Areskimum memoret per bella ferocem,
Pace grauem nulli, tempore utroque pium;
Si quis opes sine fastu, animum sine fraude carentem;
Rebus in ambiq[ue]nus suspicione fidem,
Siquis ob has dotes, fatus tactata procellis;
Exit in illius patria fessa pedem;
Vera quidem memoret, sed non & propria: laude
Qui pariter petet has vnuus & alter erit;
Ihud & proprium est, longe quod in ordine vita
Nil odium aut liuor, quod reprehendit, habet.*

Upon the death of whch earle Marre the regent, there happened long consultation for the election of a new regent to succeed in his place, that might in all respects defend the kings person and the realme, as he had done before. Wherefore the noble men, assembling for that cause, did in the moneth of December, one moneth and more after the death of that last regent, elect by one consent the earle Morton to that office, a man no lesse wise than prouident, and such a person as both for the nobilitie of his birth, and god service to the realme and to the king, did well merit the same. After whol election, the two princes, the English queene, and the French king, minding to make a full conclusion of peace and amitie, and to settle the kingdome of Scotland in due obedi-
ence and unitie, did in the meane time that the abstinence of warre before named continued, send their ambassadores to the regent and states of Scot-
land: Whch ambassadores were maister Henrie Billigrew esquier for England, and monsieur de Veracke for France. But as monsieur de Veracke was dislodged from the coasts of France, and upon the sea in his tourneie to Scotland; he was apprehended and taken, before he could atteine to the shooe of Scotland: wherby he never came on land amongst the Scots to perforne his ambas-
sage. Whch being knowne to the Scots, and they finding that their most aid & surest friendship would come forth of England from that prince, whome re-
ligion, bloud, affinitie, and neigborhod had moued to like and follow, did in the end resolute themselves, that both the affection, aswell of the young king, and of the impanisoned queene, shold referre themselves to the queene of England, to make a finall conclu-
sion of all contiouerries and troubles whch were then amongst them.

Wherupon the said Henrie Billigrew made a quiet end and pacification of all matters & debates betweene all the lads of Scotland after this maner. In Februario following the new creation of this regent Morton, there assembled at Perth, or saint Johns towne (by especiall edict therfore) the great part of the nobilitie of Scotland, as the regent, at saint Johns towne. The earles of Huntlie, Argile, Atholl, and others: who pitteng the miserte of their countrie, condescended that the queene of England shold by her ambassador, set a quiet end and dver amongst them. Whch the said Henrie Billigrew did in all points accordinglie, extending the same unto all the nobilitie of Scotland, except such as were in the castell of Edenborough: whch were the lord Hume, the lord of Grange, secretarie Loington, the lord Bassal-
rege, and others: who rather desirous of warre than peace, as persons mettelie well inured therewithall, would not consent to anie peace, other than such as might stand with their owne liking, and support of the impanisoned queenes fation, whch they earnestlie followed, as after shall more appere.

But before this finall agreement, as I haue bene crediblie informed, there was a parlement cal-
led at Edenborough to begin the fifteenth of Januari, at Edenbo-
rough, in which were assembled the earle Morton regent, the earles of Angus, Argile, Glencarne, Cas-
sels,

sets, Eglinton, Mountroose, and yong Marshall, for the earle Marshall his father: the lords of Ruthwen, Lindele, Glames, Simple, Bodd, Marwell, Herris, Crate, Diphant, Sinclair, Frobis, Cart, Dchillie, Somerwell, and others: with the commissioners of the boozis of Edenborough, Strineling, Perth, Dundie, saint Andrews, Glasgow, Lithgo, and Coper. Out of whiche number of this assemblie were chosen for to be lords and judges, to determine the articles propounded in that parliament, the earles of Argyle, Glencarne, and Mountroose, the lords Ruthwen, Lindele, Bodd, Simple, and Herris, with the bishops of saint Andrews & Dkene, the abbats of Aberboth, Dunfirmling, Cambuskenneth, and Petrbottle, besides the prior of saint Marie ile and Postintake, which were also adioined unto them: all whiche persons so passed, named, and appointed, determined, ratified, and passed these articles following.

The articles and acts of the parliament holden at Edenborough the 25 of Ianuarie.



1. The approbation and ratification of the regiment.

2. Amentis the true and holie kirke, and deiring of the true ministers & members thereof.

3. That name of the aduersaries and enimies of Gods truth shall intole the patrimonie of the kirke.

4. That like of the disobedients as shall be received to mercie and pardon, protest the true religion, and swere to resist the deccres and execution of the councell of Trent.

5. The establisshing of the regiment, in case that charge yet daile during the kings minoerie.

6. Amentis recovering of the teuelis, householdstufe, manut, and moveables, such as sometime were the quhenes the kings mother, to his highnesse use and behoef.

7. A declaration, that all things done in the kings name and authoerite is lawfull, and of the inualiditie of all things attemptid in anie name, and under color of quabatuer other authoerite, since his highnesse coronation.

8. Touching motion to be made for a league with the quhenes maiestie of England, for the defense of forren invasion, for the cause of religion; and that others professing the true religion, may be dravone into the same.

9. The declaration and interpretation of the act amentis masse and glesbis.

10. Amentis the interpretation of the popes and other counterfet buls or prouision to benefices with antedats.

11. Approbation with some addition to the act of pynce councell, made in the reigne of the quhenes the kings mother, amentis the disposition of benefices to ministers of the kirke.

12. Amentis execution against persons excommunicat.

13. Amentis the reparacion of parish kirks.

14. Amentis proceeding in caufe of pynce.

15. Amentis the reparacion of the destructions, biggings, and other damneges within the towne of Edenborough during the late trouble.

16. A confirmation of the infestement of certeine rents to the pedagog or college of Glasgow. All whiche acts thus fullie passed in this parliament, there was the same advise given to the regent, touching the receiving to pardon of persons guiltie to the slaughtry of the earle of Lennox late regent, & touching suspension and delating of purfyle of the marcher of the

kings father. Whereof much being spoken, and thought god to be followed; yet there was nothing enacted that might establish the same.

During the time of whiche session of this parliament, manie occurrents deserving remembrance happened after the said fifteenth of Ianuarie. For skirmishes Edenborough castell being somewhat distressed, the castellians were put from falleng out of the castell gate, where capteine Crawford, and capteine Hume late with their bands to keape them in. Notwylle standing all whiche, they within repaire unto a pouerne in the northside of the castell besidess saint Cuthberts church, and saint Margarets well, where they issued and set water at their pleasure: whiche being espied by their enimies, capteine Michaell and his band came from Dondiske to stop their passage thereto. Who within thre datus after such his approach, destroyed their well, and inforsed them to keape within the wals of the castell: at that time the regent advanced his trenches made against the castell, from the bulwroke or spurre of that castell to the west part: and from thenselv, to saint Cuthberts kirke: so that with the water liteng on the southwylle side, and the regents pouer on the other side, the castell was wholie inuironed. During whiche siege, the sixteenth of the same moneth, the castellians, to feare such as were assembled in the sozened parliament kept within the towne of Edenborough, bestowed fourscore and seuen great shot upon the towne, whiche harred not anie one creature, but a poore dog that was slaine before the doore of the regents house: althoough men, women, and chyldeyn did daslie frequent and passe the streets of the towne. Whiche was a rare matter, but yet not moare strange than this: that there was not slaine on the regents part (from the first of the moneth of Ianuarie vntill this time, either by great or small shot in the towne or trenches, skirmishes or otherwise) above six persons, and within the castell but thre, with as manie hurt betwene the tolboth and the spurre of the castell. The cause whereof grew by reason of thre trauerles, made ouerwylle the streets to sau the people, besides the other trenches made against the castell: at that time also the tolboth and the church was fensed with a rampier forced of turfes, fagots, and other stufte fit for that purpose. Whereby the lords of the parliament did as safelie assemble and sit in the tolboth, and the people went as quietlie and safelie to the church to heare divine service, as they at anie time did before the warres began, and before that the castell was besieged.

During whiche doings in the castell & the towne, there was an abstinence granted at the late of the ambassadores of England for the duke and his adherents, vntill the fourte and twentieth of Februarie: in whiche meane time, certeine lords were appointed to conserue with the said ambassadores for an accord to be had betwene the king and imponsoned quenes faction. Wherevpon sir James Balford came to the regents grace, obteined pardon for his offense, and earnestlie laboured to further this agreement. The earle of Argyle was aduanced to the honour of the chancellorship. And Alexander Arscorne master of Marre was appointed to haue the keeping of the kings person vpon certeine condicions, for the performance whereof he was to find fourte suerties, lords of the parliament, to be bound for him boode and lands, hauing fifteene datus appointed vnto him to consider thereof, whether he wold enter into so great a charge or no. And if in case he shold refuse to accept the same, it was further resolued and concluded, that the earles of Glencarne and Durhan,

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quhan, the lord Glanis, and master Marshall shold haue the keping of the king quarterie one after another. And if anie of the fourt shold happen, during the time of his quarterie government, to be sickle, or not able to execute that function; that then the lord Lindseie shold be assistant to him in that government, during that time. Which being thus an all parts concluded, James Kirkcudie arrived in the Slackenesse in a small pinnesse, and entred the castell of Edenborough, with such monies as he had provided to bring thither. Which occasioned the castell of Edenborough to be reassed and invironed both by sea and land, and was the cause that capteine Bluse salleng forth with other of his compaines to forage the countrey, and to prouide vittels, were taken by the regents compaines. Notwithstanding all which, yet the others within the castell continued their purpose, and defended the same against the regent and his compaines, farre otherwise than was supposed, that either they could or wold do.

1573

The taking of Edenborough castell by the English and the regent of Scotland.

Whereupon the regent of Scotland solicited the quene of England, in the behalfe, and for the succor of the yong king of Scots his cousin, hys grieuouslie molested with the warres of his owne people. So that the quene of England sent a power of fiftene hundred Englishmen to the siege of Edenborough castell, ouer whome sir William D'urie knight and marshall of Berwike was made generall, with such capteins as follow; whiche were sir Francis Russell knight, third sonne to Francis erle of Bedford with other capteins, as Read, Parle, Wood, Brichwell, Pskeman, Gam, Case, Carew, Errington prouost marshall, Astol, Sterle capteine of the pioners, and capteine Barton. To whom also to serue at their owne frē will these gentlemen of name, sir George Carte, sir Henrie Leie knights, Thomas Cicill eldest son of the lord tressor of England, William Knolles, Sutton, Cotton, Belwacie, Dier, Tilre, William Billegrewe, a manie other gentlemen of god estimation did associat themselves with convenient number to attend vp on them. These with their generall passed from Berwike to Leith, where they met with maister Henrie Billegrewe the quene of Englands ambassadour, whose care, travell, & furthrance at that time deserved no small commendation; and with the Scottish nobilitie, & such as they had assembled to ioine with the English in the behalfe of the yong king against such as toke part with the deposed quene. Which Scottish nobilitie and gentlemen of Scotland were the earle Morton regent, and such other earles and gentlemen as were tied and alied to him by kindnes and kinred, and such as favoured the yong king, disfreted by the deposed quene, as was pretended. After the joyning of these two nations, they on the five and twentieth of Aprill marched towards Edenborough: and the same date sir William D'urie the generall summoned the castell of that towne in forme as followeth.

The summons gauen to the castell of Edenborough.

Sir William Kirkcudie, sometimes of Grange knight, forasmuch as the quens maisterie my souereigne ladie, vpon the gernes request of hit deere cousin the king of Scots your souereigne lord made to hit highnes by his regent, nobilitie, & estates of Scotland, after all god meanes vied to haue reduced you to a duttfull obedience of his anthorite by treatie, which he shew to you haue not vnde harkened unto, to the onlie hinderance of the uniuersall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highnesse castell, meaning

(as it semeth) to reserve the same for a receptacle of foyn forces, to the manifest dangers both of this realme and of my souereigne; and therefore necessary to remoue so pernicious a danger to both the realmes. For which consideration hit maisterie hath sent hit alid and succors, men, ordinance, and munition vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and reconquerie of the said castell to the said kings use and behoife. And therefore, according to hit maisteries commandement and commission; this shall be in due maner to warne, require, and summon you, that you render and deliuer the said castell with the whole ordinance, artillerie, munitions, jewels, hold stufse, and such other implements within the same to me, and to the use and behoife of the king your souereigne and his regent in his name, immediatlie after this my letter of summons or knowledge of the same shall come to you. Which if you obie, as of dutie you ought; then shall I in hit maisteries name interpone my selfe to trauell with the regent, counsell, and nobilitie here for the safetie of your lynes, &c; otherwise, if you continue in your former obstinacie, abiding the canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauor; but you and the rest within that castell, to be purfled to the vittermost, and holden as enimies to hit maisterie, your owne loue, regne, and countrey. Given at Edenborough by me sir William D'urie knight generall of hit maisteries forces now in Scotland, this five and twentie daye of Aprill, in the yeare of Chyff 1573.

This letter by the lord Grange capteine of the castell thus in due sort received, he not regarding the contents thereof, nor considering the mēd disposition of such as went about to spare thē blood, did vterlie deie the surrendre of the castell, and with all force determined to defend themselves. Wherewith the English generall greateley grieved, did incontinently rebelluer such answere to the said lord Grange as wrought an vitter discontent and mislike in the man. By meanes of whiche the pioners attending their chārge, with expedition applied the casting of trenches, and erecting of mounts or fortresses to plant the artillerie therevpon against the castell. After which euerie one haltening the cause of his comming, & joining their force together, began to inturke the towne, & to lye siege to the castell in fve severall places, where were fve severall fortresses erected for that cause, intituled by these names. The first mount allotted to the regent, had the name of the kings mount, the second the generall thereof the English sir William D'urie did possesse, the third was in charge of sir George Carte, the fourth was called sir Henrie Leies mount, and the fift fell to the governement of Thomas Sutton maister of the ordinance in the north parts of England. The whole number of whiche armes vnder pale was two thow sand, wherof fiftene hundred were English, and the other fiftie hundred Scots: besides the nobilitie and gentlemen with their compaines, and the citizens of Edenborough defended with thirtie pieces of artillerie conteining sixtēn canons, nine demicanons, nine culuerings, and six sarces. Whiles the armes wyllyng out was thus preparing for to assaile the compaines within, the capteine of the castell (to hinder their wroake) liberallie saluted the pioners & other soldiers with such artillerie as they had within the castell, and vpon and about the walles therof; wherby manie were hurt, some slaine, but more hindered before the trenches and mounts myght be brought to their due perfection, for desete of the assailants, and offensē of the assailed. In whiche action also the aduise part forgot not to reuise the castillians, but mōstlie after that the pioners and laboers had fiftie

then the mounte. At that time they gaue helement and charpe assault to the castell, although that the extreme heat thereof began not until the seuententh daie of June following. In which siege on the said seuenteenth daie of June, the castellians most doughty infirmitie and shot of canons discharged against the staine. At that time those pieces so well performed their parts against Damaskes power, that the force of the English canons was cause to be then and long after seuered him. Wherof all continued until the one and twentieth daie of June following; on which daie the whole battarie began not againe as before agayn his part, but whiche round about on the side of the castell. For until then Damask towe sum of his the marche of the enemys; but after that day they laid out their power in euerie place, offendring and defending by otheris soldiours, as well withyn the castell as within the mounte and brenches; in that charpe condicte hunting and killing manie of the English and Scots. Whereupon the diligence of the English began to be grete, that they so forthwith displaced the viceroy in the castell, and stroke one of their greatest pieces last in the moche; whereby the same was broken; and the castellians force founethat abated.

After this, on the six and twentieth daie of the said moneth of June, there was a fresh assault given at euerie of the staine in the morning to the Spurce (a place of bastide, or blockhouse before the said castell) wherof by the assallants was taken, & so forth with upon the entrance therin, was the banner of the generall displaced and set vp, to declare who possessed the same, to the grete discomfort of them in the castell. For although before they had lost the use of one of their great pieces, that their wales were battered, that ware of their men were slaine, & that they had almost all their water taken from them; yet wold they not yeld, neither did any whit begin to despatre of keeping the castell, or repelling the enemys; until such time as the English had now gotten the posses-
sion of the Spurce.

Frome during the time that these gave the assalt to the Spurce, there was an other band of Englishmen and Scots, that had in charge to make heire of a fresh assault; at the west part of the castell; to the end that such as laid battarie to the Spurce, might with more ease to themselves, and leesse suspition of the enemys part, obteine the said Spurce. But this last named band, over hastilie putting themselves in adventure beyond the limite of their charge, were repelled and driven to the recolt, with the hore and losse of thicke persons, or the readouts. All which notwithstanding, the castellians (perceyning their chiefest desete the Spurce to be lost, and not great de retolling of this small victorie over those which assalied them on the west side) did the same paie by a dynaunce demand partie; which they obtained with truce of peace froth that daie, until the eight and twentieth of Hatchet following. For whiche cause the lard of Pittayle was let downe by a rope frome the castell, and after him the lard of Grange, capteine of the said castell, with Robert Spelman, all which came to haue conference with the generall sir William D'urie, & such other persons as were chosen to accompane him about the same. In the end, upon much conference had betweene the Scottish lards and the generall, the castell was the same eight and twentieth daie (in which the truce ended) deliu-
red vp into the hands of the said sir William D'urie, which he kept in his possession for a certeine time; during whose abode in the castell, he set vp and spred his ensignes and banners upon sundrie parts of the wals of the same.

After this done, the generall (after quiet possession had

not determining to retaine it onto his mistresse use, sith he was ouerly appointed by her to aid the king of Scots, and such of the nobilitie as toke his part) did after (according to his commission) deliuere over the same castell to the vle of the yong king of Scots; for which cause not meaning byterlie to spoile the castell, he gaue but part of the spoile to the vle of the soldiers, leauing the canons and other artillerie to the kings pleasure. For before the surrendre of the castell, it was agreed, that if the Englishmen had by force taken it, as they obtained it by compositions, that then they shoulde whote haue imoted the full spoile by the space of thre daies, the artillerie onely excepted, which shoulde be carried awaie by the English. But sith for these causes following, the same could not abide yche long siege, but most of necessarie yeld it selfe, there was euerie part of the said spoile given unto the soldiers upon the deliuerie of the same castell to sir William D'urie. The causes of which surrendre were manie.

First, for that they were depryued of water, be-
cause the well within the castell was choked with the ruines of the castell wals; & the other well without could not serue them, because there was a mount made to hinder them. An other water there was (which was inconuenient to such as were without the castell) and was taken from them by the losse of the Spurce, out of which they were wont to haue a pint a daie for euerie bouldier. The other causes of surrendre were these.

Secondly, diverse persons were sickle, especiallie thorongh drinke of the water of saint Margarets well without the castell on the north side, which had bene polluted by some of their enemys.

Thirdly, diverse others were hurt.

Fourthly, not manie to mainteine the castell, and they not able to take anie rest, being so plied and daile weareid with battarie.

Fifthly, diverse of the soldiours diuided in op-
nions.

Sixtly, some were no soldiours at all.

Seuenthly, that no aid was to be looked for by the wale of France.

The eight and chese cause was, that the regent and his forces planted in the strengthes round about, and the boisslemen daile and nightlie watching and riding, whiche held and toke from them all vittels, and had brought them to great want of food before the siege began. All these eight causes moued the said surrendre of the castell.

After that the castell was thus gotten, the sixtenth daie of June following, the prisoners were deliu-
red by the said sir William D'urie, in the presence of lundrie Scots & Englishmen, unto the regent; and that done, the same daie sir William D'urie departed with his power to Berwike. The names of the prisoners were these; sir William Bircaw-
die lard of Grange, and capteine of the castell of Edenbrough, the lord Yonne, William Metellan, lord of Lexington secretarie, the lard of Pittayle constable of the castell, the countesse of Argile, the ladie of Lexington and the ladie of Grange, with others. But yet the priuie soldiours & others of meaner sort were sufferid to depart with bag and baggage.

Thus was the castell of Edenbrough wone, as you haue heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; insomuch as manie thought it toke the name of the easden castell, for that it had not bene wone at any time before except by famine or practise. Whiche opin-
on being common is so much the falle, in that the common sort do imbrace it, for that they suffe in-
cline to common fables. For this castell was not sur-
named the spaden castell, because it was never ta-
ken

*Humfred. Lhoid.
in brev. Brit.
I. Stow.*

*Lesleus lib. 2.
pag. 84.*

*Campdenus in
Scotia saty ab
Ebrano Britan
no aut ab Hebreo
Picto Edinbur
gum deducere
quid aliud est
quam seriu incep
tere?*

*1574
The tragical
historie of the
warres of the
low countries
lib. 3.*

*The Scots
repelled their
enemies at
Bonancell.*

ken by force: but because the princes children were there nourished, as mairie well appare by that which I shall set downe touching the antiquite of this towne & the name therof, of which there be diverse opinions. For some will have it to be builded by Eboraucus, of some called Ebzancus king of Britaines, called also in Welsh, Castle mynd Agnes, the caſtell of Saint Agnes hill, afterward the caſtell of vngings. But Lesleus will have it builded after the time of H. Lhoid, by the space of the hundred ſcore ſcore years, for thus he wroteth.

*Chronica
Camelodunum primaria dictorum urbium & Agnedae
poeca Ethinburgum ad Bello quondam regis Britonum pugnac
lurum caſtro, ubi regis & nobilium Pictorum filii cum in
iudicantur serbant & precepit ad hanc locum & vni
tem informari scilicet, condidit. A little tocole which, the
ſaid Lesleus wrightly that Fergalus filius Aindart
Christi in eam remittitum 305, Cuius hic tempore E.
dictus Britum & Christeniss Camelodunum Pictorum imp
erium tenebant. Now this king Chernesius that built
Agnedae, lived before Christ three hundred and five
years by the Scots account, and Eborauc or E
bunus lived nine hundred ſcore years & nine years
before Chilli: so that the Englishmen make this
towne more ancient than the Scots. But as Les
leus hath miſtaken himſelfe, following Boetius,
to place Camelodunum in Scotland: so hath he ap
pointed Edinburgh to be built by the Scots, being
built by the Britaines. But true it might be that Eb
orauc first buiſt it, & that being at the space of th
hundred ſcore ſcore ſcore years was ſtolt and
deterior decayed. The ſame was alſo erected by
Chernesius, and after repaired by Cetus. The caſtell
of which towne, being ſometime appointed for the
bringing up of the daughters of the noblemen of
the Picts, until they were mariageable, was for that
caſe (and not beſtore it was never wone by force)
called the maiden caſtell, as the ſaid Lesleus affir
meth. But after, when Chernesius came into Scot
land, it was called (as I conjecture) Agnedae, becaſe
it was the caſtell that stood on Saint Agnes hill, & not
before the coming of Chilli ſo called Agnedae, as
hitherto it hath bene ſet downe, but ad righteſte; as
I mairie with reverence ſpeak under correction of
ſuch as by better authority can diſproue that I ſaie.*

But here let us a little leue the countrie ſole
of Scotland, and ſee things as were there then
done; and talke ſomewhat of the perſons of that
realme, who performed matter of valour in the
low countries. Whilſt the towne of Leiden was
ſtronglie besieged (in the moneth of June) and that
the towncmen (having a needfull and heſtfull care)
were altogether implored about making of provision
of all ſuch things as were deſired necessary for the
defenſe of the ſame towne, the principall part of the
commandatoris arme arrived in Bonnemill quaſt
ers, Gorcum, and Leidwesten. Whilſt the prince
and the earles of the low countries made no great
account therof, by reaſon that Bonnemill (which was
well furnished of all things neceſſarie for the warres)
was under the cuſtode of capteine Warbouſe, co
nall of the Scotsmen, who had there attending on
him the number of ſeven Scottish enigies. Which
Scots deſirous to performe ſome matter of valour,
dauie ſallied out of the towne with ſome of the
citizens and gentlemen Hollanderis; in whiche after ſlaying
they valiantlie ſkirmished with the enimies. Thereby in the end amongeſt the ſame towne confliues
there were manie warlike exploits performed by
the Scots, which deſerved not to be forgotten: as
well for that they often repelled the enimies, and kept
their ſtrength together; as for that they being ſew in
number, adventured beyond the hope of godly hap, by
inconuenting with a greater ſtrope of such as came

against them, that they were diſſauelues, either to
returne victors, or to loſe their land, as upon our
ſtate which also the ſame Scots conuicting in
that warre downe, performed manie other mili
tary exploitis, which I will ſet downe in
this place. Few ſuch as have being deſcribed ſome of
the ſtories whiche these number of chiefely conuicting
ſuch thinges ſome might ſupplie the neceſſe of ſufficient
matter of Scotland to furniſh the ſame; and for that
I have herie deſcribed of the perſonage of per
ſone made vnto me bydante others of that nation
whiche deſcribeth that conuicting ought, and in elem
enting ſome ſtrife or opinion conuected, agaſt them
of their actions in their owne conuict. Shalbe have
ſonght to further me in the ſe my labours: I am ſtolt
leauie things done in Scotland, and toarie my pen
to other place, producynge matter to helpe my þaw
ven diſcouer whiche inſtructed them in it. My deſcri
ption perſonified by the ſcots in the ſame low
countries, where they which were then in ſervice to
gaſt the ſpaniards, under the pate of the prince of
Drenge, did that which deſerved to be ſingat.

*The Scots
ende their
inuicting
to the ſtrife
of the annaſis
of Scotland.*

These ſcots were ſore reuelling in thole count
ries, ſeuing under the conuict of their conuict
namel Warbouſe, did in Januarie ſet forth am
ouſt the ſpaniards at a place called the ſtockale,
distant not much more than a mile from Leige, where
was a long and cheape conuict betwene theſe two
nations. In which þe the ſuicouſe of battell (for the
weare part holding vnitie unto the stronger ſide) þe
weare multitude of them were left dead in the place,
and the weare diſperde ſame themſelues by flight from
their enimes, þoþo yet ſet out this diſperde ſo
readieng alſo, but that the iſtancie of their
people before the ſcots were put to the weare.

*The tragical
historie of the
warres of the
low countries
lib. 4.*

But leuing the ſcots in the middle of the weare
of these countries under the pate of Drenge, we
are to conuey other matters diſcoulping by ſucces
ion of time, whiche hath deliuered to us that Margar
et the daughter & heire of Archibald Douglas
earle of Angus, died in England the tenth of March
in the year of our redempcion 1577, beginning
the year at the Annuntiation of the Virgin. Whiche
lade being borne at Harketell, caſtell in England
in the year of Chilli 1536, to Thomas
Howard, younger brother to the duke of Suffolke,
he was that year committed priuoner to the tower,
but after ſet at libertie the laſt of October; in the
ninth and twentith year of king Henrie the eight,
in the year 1537, he married to Margaret Stewart
earle of Lenor by the conſent of Henrie the eight
king of England, in the year of our ſaluation
1544. After whiche, being tolled with both fortunes,
ſometime in aduerſtie, ſometime in proſperite, ſhe
was notwithstanding alwaies honorable intere
ced in England, as both her birth in reſpece of her
kingly blood, and her calling in reſpece of her place,
was worthie herie. In the end, to cut off all her
aduerſties, and to draw to whiche falling in
mairie oure knowledge, ſhe was on the two and
twentith of April in the year 1563, (upon the mar
riage of her ſonnes Henrie Edward earle of Warwiche
unto Marie Stewart queene of Scots) commanded
by the queene of England ſir to keepe her chamber
in the Whitehall the princes court and palace, where
she remained vntill the two and twentith day of
June next ſingat; and was then by Sir Francis
Knollys (one of the priuate counſell and vicecham
berlaine to the queene of England) and by ſome oþer
of the gard conueyed to the towne of London by
water, in whiche place ſhe remained priuoner vntill
that

*The Scots
put to flight
besides Leige.*

1577

*Some part
of the life of
Margaret
Douglas.*

She remained vntill the two and twentith day of
June next ſingat; and was then by Sir Francis
Knollys (one of the priuate counſell and vicecham
berlaine to the queene of England) and by ſome oþer
of the gard conueyed to the towne of London by
water, in whiche place ſhe remained priuoner vntill
that

I. Stow.

that his sonne the said Henrie Stewart was mis-
treatable and traitorouslie slaine by the earle Both-
well and his complices (as some affirme, but how
truite I know not) vpon the twentith of Februarie
one thousand five hundred thre score & six. In which
yeare, on the two and twentith of the same moneth,
the said ladie Margaret was discharged out of the
towre and set at libertie, who still remaining in En-
gland did (as before is said) in the thre score & second
yeare of his age, and in the fift yeare of his widow-
hood, surrender his soule to God, being most honora-
ble buried & answerable to his calling in the great
chapell of Westminster (built by Henrie the seventh
king of England) among the kings of that realme
in an inward chapell standing on the right & the
southside of the said great chapell. The yeare before
whose death his sonne Charles Stewart earle of
Lennor (having before married Elizabeth the daugh-
ter of sir William Candly, by whome he has issue
Arbella) did also depart this life. Duer the bodies of 20
both which persons, Thomas Fowler executor to the
said ladie Margaret, did with the gods of the said
ladie erect a cottle and statelic toun of rich ston
and curios workmanship, with the picture of that
ladie, as liuelie, and as well coloured as art might
afford it, about which monument is graven this me-
morable epitaph declaring his nobilitie, as insueth,
At the head of the toun is set downe

Memoria sacrum.

*Margareta Douglaſia, Matthei Stuarti Lenioris comitis
uxori, Henrici septimi Angliae regis exilia nepti, potentis
regibus cognatione coniunctissime, Iacobi sexti regis aucte,
matronae sanctissimae, moribus, & iuncta animi patientia, in-
comparabili. P.*

Obiit Marti decimo Anno

Domiini 1577.

On the right side of which toun is
this ingraven.

*Margareta potens, viritate potentior, ortu
Regibus ac praeuis nobilitata suis:
Inde Calidonij australibus, inde Britannis:
Aedita principibus, principibusque parens:
Qua mortis fuerant solus Larifana morti,
Atque Deum petat, nam fuit ante Dei.*

Henrie second sonne to this ladie and father to
James the fift now king. This Henrie was murde-
red at the age of one and twentie yeares, Charles
the yongest sonne was earle of Lennor father to the
late Arbella. He died at the age of one and twentie
yeares, and is here intombed.

On the left side of the toun

is this ingraven.

This ladie had to her gret at grandfather king Ed-
ward the fourth, to her grandfather king Henrie the
seventh, to her uncle king Henrie the eight, to her cou-
sine germane king Edward the fift, to her brother
king James of Scotland the fift, to her sonne king
Henrie the fift, to her grandchild king James the
fift, having to her great grandmother and grandmo-
ther two quenes both named Elizabeth, to her mo-
ther Margaret quene of Scots, to her aunt Marie
the French quene, to her cousins germane Marie
and Elizabeth quens of England, to her neare and
daughter in law Marie quene of Scots.

At the foot of her toun is this written.

Here lieth the noble ladie Margaret countesse of
Lennor, daughter and sole heire to Archibald Dow-
glas earle of Angus, by Margaret quene of Scots
his wife, that was eldest daughter to king Henrie
the seventh, which bare unto Matthew earle of Len-
nor his husband, fourre sonnes and fourre daughters.]

Whiche honourable toun, with these super-
scriptions, was erected for the said ladie, and finished
in the yeare of our redemption 1578, being begun

and almost perfected in the life of the said ladie Mar-
garet. This ladie being (as before is shewed) count-
esse of Lennor and Angus, it will not be amisse to
declare in this place, what became of both the said
earledoms, as well in his life, as after his and his
sonne Charles his death. Touching Angus, this ladie
Margaret, vpon the mariage of his son Henrie lord
Darnelie, which was solemnized the nine and twen-
tith day of Julie 1565, to Marie quene of Scots; did
give the said earldome with all the rights and
members thereof unto the said quene Marie, to dis-
pose as fell best unto her liking. Wherupon the said
quene bestowed that honour and earldome vpon
Archibald Dowglas cousin to the said ladie Mar-
garet: who being exiled, was here in England at
the writing hereof. The earldome of Lennor, after
the slaughter of Matthew earle of Lennor (husband
to this Margaret) which was in Sterling the fourth
of September, in the yeare of our redemption 1571; but
1572 as hath Lelleus, was invested in Charles
James the fift king of Scotland, heire in bloud to
the said Matthew earle of Lennor, father to Henrie
lord Darnelie (that married the quene) father to the
said James the fift. Whereupon the young king,
mindfull of the advancement of his uncle Charles
sonne to the said Margaret, did intue the said Charles
with the honour of the said earldome of Lennor,
which Charles died in the life of his mother Mar-
garet without heire male, by reason whereof the said
earldome reverted to the crowne.

But here leauing the title and succession of the
earles of Lennor to an other place following (sith I
am entered into the discourse of such of the earles
& countesses of Lennor as be dead) I thinke it better
in this place, than not at all, to mention the epitaph
of Matthew earle of Lennor slaine at Sterling (as
is before touched) in the yeare of Christ 1571. For al-
though the same matter wold moze apille haue
beene placed before at the end of the historie of
Scotland, written by Holinshed, or at the begin-
ning of my continuance of the annales of that
country, when I mention the death of the said earle:
yet sith the note of that epitaph came not vnto my
hands, vntill I had thus farre proceeded in the historie;
and the same also at that time passed the print
(whereby I could not set it downe in due place) I
will here (having so god occasion therfore) intreating
of the toun of his wife (whose charge also wanted
not in erecting of this toun of his slaine husband,
and so that this doth also touch some part of his epi-
taph) inser the same in this place after this maner,
as it is written vpon the statelic toun of the said
Matthew Lennor, and now standing in the chapell
within Sterling castell, being as hereafter foloweth.

The epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennor.

Lo here a prince and potentate,

whose life to understand,

Was godlie, iust, and fortunate,

though from his native land

His enimies thrice did him out thring,

he thrice returnd againe,

Was lawfull tutor to the king,

and regent did remaine;

Where he with rigor rebels racket,

the right for to defend,

Till enimies old through tyrans trackt,

did worke his fassall end.

Lo thus respects the death no wight,

When God permits the time,

Yet shall the vengeance on them light

that wrought that cursed crime.

Besides which also on the same toun are these

hercull verles set downe, declaring his name, his

decent, his mariage, his issue, his offices, and such o-

ther matters belonging unto him, as followeth.

Behold herein interred is,
Matthew of Lennox earle,
Who long of late in Britaine soile,
did liue a pearleſſe pearle.
And as he was of roiall bloud,
by roiall progenie,
From Stewards stocke of auncient time,
princes of Albanie :
His fortune was euen ſo to match,
with paſſing vertuous wight,
Whose race deriu'd from famous kings,
of wide renowned might.
His mother queene of Scotland was,
and eldeſt daughter deare,
Of Henrie ſeuenth English king,
a princelic mirror cleare.
His father earle of Angus was,
the ladie Margaret hight,
The onelie heire of Angus lands,
and all his fathers right.
Thus did king Brutus bloud conioine,
for both by grace diuine
Are come of Northwales princes hault,
which were of Troians line.
And diuerſe godlie imps there were,
that iſſued from them twaine :
Charls Iames now king, and *Charls the earle
of them doth ſtill remaine,
King Henrie father to this king,
their firſt begotten ſonne :
Oh cruell fates! the which ſo ſcone,
his vitall thred vnsponne,
By whose deuife the grandſire came,
lord regent in this land :
And noble bare the regall ſword
of iuſtice in his hand.
Whereby he diu in tender age
of the kings maiſtie,
This realme protect with fortitude,
prudence and equitie.
But now dame fame with flickering wings
withouten anie let,
Shall ſpread abrode this worthie man,
and through the world him ſet.
And tearing time ſhall not conſume,
nor weare the fame awaie,
But with the worthieſt reckned be,
vntill the latter date.
After which time, eternitie
doth triumph then by right :
Where he with angels ſhall reioife,
in Gods eternall fight.

Besides which Engliſh epitaph theſe verſes were
also composed by Buchanan upon the ſame earle of
Lennox, where in is not onelie ſet downe (as before)
the honourable birth of the man, but also ſome of the
places of his education, with other things which
right forſtunatlie happened unto him in this ſort.

Regis annus, regis pater, alio eſanguine regum
(Imperio quorum terra Britanna ſubſt)
Matthews genuit, Lewinia, Gallicafouſi,
Pulſe Angliſh aliam rēm, deſcēd, dedit.
Capi invicta manu, famam vītū refūi,
Arma armis vici, conflixiq; doloſ.
Gratus in ingratos: patriam iuſq; pīq;
Cum regerem, hōſtili perſidia cecidi.
Charle * nepos, ſte, vna domus, meliore ſenectam
Attingeſi, catena dignus aui.

Thus ſetting end to the liues & deaths of this Mat-
thew Stewart earle of Lennox, of Margaret Del-
glaſe his wife, to their honourable epitaphs, and to
their ſumptuous ſepulchres, we will come backe ag-
aine to ſuch others, either generall or ſpeciall, ecclo-

* This was
Charles earle of Lennox buried in
the toun which
his grandmo-
ther the ladie
Margaret
Lennox before
mentioned
who liued af-
ter the death
of this Mat-
thew his
grandfather.

* James the
ſixt king
of Scots.

dents as haue fallen in the kingdome of Scotland,
and which will touch the univerſall gouernement, or
the particular occurrents as well of Scotch as of o-
ther forren affaires managed by them at home, or
in other countries, therwithall ioyning the diſcourse
of ſuch things as haue beene performed by other na-
tions in that kingdome. Amongſt which accidents in
Scotland this rarelte haappened, that the earle Mo-
ton ſurrendered his protectoriſhip or regentiy of
the king and kingdome of Scotland. Which I mate
wothlie count rare, ſixt men in ſo great authoriſte
of commanding all perſons, can hardly be brought
to give ouer ſuch honour, and to yeld themſelues to
the commandement of others, becauſe *Qui primatus*
ſui authoritatem perdiſt, in deſperacionem & anguſham ſe mitiſt: *qui autem locum ſuam ſapienter cufſudit, ſe ac ſuos ad pro-
fectum dirigit*. And Blas the philosopher knew, that it
was a moſt hard thing of all other, and onelie ſaun-
ting of great magnanimitie and wildom, *Fortiter*
ferre mutationes rerum in deterius. But he being verie
wife, ſearcd not the alteration of his estate, but ra-
ther desired to be rid thereof, conſidering the weigh-
tynesse and danger which depended therevpon, and re-
membring that notable ſaing of Gregorie in his
ſpouſals, declaring the ſingular god of ſuch, which do
thun the gouernement of temporall things, in theſe
woſds. *Quis quodam in g̃o ſeruituſi premunt proſpera, dum*
appetuntur; premunt aduera, dum firmitantur. At ſequi, ce-
mel dominationem deſideriorum temporaliuum à collo mentis
excufſit, quidam in ſic vita libertate perfruitur, & dum
*nullo deſideriſ ſadicariſt, nullo aduerſariſ errore co-
arbitatur.*

This earle Morton (I ſaie) ſurrendred his of-
fice (as before is touched) in the moneth of March, in
this yere of our Lord one thondred five hundred
ſeventy ſeven, at what time alſo Robert Bowes
esquier was then in Scotland for his mateſtie of
England. Upon the remouing of which earle Morton
there were no more regents in that countrie, but
the king tooke vpon him to rule the realme by him-
ſelfe & by ſuch curatores as he ſhuld appoint therfore.
For the king wroth about the twelue yere of his age
thought he might alſo well take vpon him the gouern-
ment of the countrie by himſelfe, and ſuch as he ap-
pointed at thole yeres, as maie of his aneſtoſ
had done before in their young yeres; notwithstanding
the opinion of maie of the better ſize of the
prebiterie, which maieſteins that he cannot absolute-
ly rule, or perfectlie eſtabliſh anie thing by the cu-
ſomes of their countrie, vntill he come to the age of
ſix and twentie yeres. But we find in their owne
hiſtories of Scotland, written even by men of beſt
iudgement, that James the ſecond of that name
king of Scots, did in the fourteenth yere of his
age, in the ſeventy yere of his regne, and in the
yere of our Lord one thondred ſome hundred ſixtie
and ſoure, put Alexander Lennoxone knight from
his regentiy, and tooke vpon himſelfe the absolute
gouernement of the kingdome, of whom thus hiſ-

toſt tell Lelius. *Gubernator cancellarii concidit in Leſſeſius.*
ſacrum eſt, ut minum ordinum coniuii ſtructi in indies pag. 395.
dicetur. An. Dom. 1440, mense Ianuarii, omnium offiſiis et
conſtitutis, ut etiam ſuam regnum latrāns; conſentientia ſo-
*pia, cauſa deſcedit, coniuratioſa diuinauit, reliquias ſeipſi
ca negoia preſeruit. Adulti nobiles ſe coniūti ſtati-*
ui adiungunt, qui in illius ſocietatem ſe penitus immigrauerunt;
adij cancellarii ac gubernatoris clati, perſuadent regi, ut ali-
rum ſeruitutis premi diuiciis non ſinat: ſed ut omni iugis
excufſo, iſi, ſuā re publica exuberante, partes affiuent. Iſi in-
ueniunt quodam regnandi ardore incerſus, illorum voces tan-
*quam Syrenum cantum in ſuas aures offueri liberadiſi
patiebant. Deim maniam quatum annum agis, in regnum*
ſolam precepit, ac ut publici comitij ſuam precepit, on-
nes ordini ſtrinxiſon vocat, 4 Novermbris 1444. *After*

Gl. ſuper ill. ec-
clſ. 23 melius
efi ut fili.

Com

The kings of
Scotland
take on them,
to rule the
realme with
out procure-
tors being
within age.

Cad

Trg
of 2

After which, about five yeares following, the same James, to shew his absolute and sufficient gouernement, did in the yeare of Christ 1449, in the nineteenth year of his age, and the twelue year of his gouernement create Alexander Seton lord Gordon earle of Huntly; and George Leslie a baron earle of Rothesay. James the fourth of that name king of Scotland, being but sixteyne yeares of age when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred four score & eight, admis-
10 nised the realme by himselfe without any procurator, as I gather out of Lesleus. James the fift the king of Scots, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, in the seventeenth year of his age, & about the fiftyneth year of his gouernment, remoued the earle of Angus from the regentship, and tooke upon himselfe the gouernment of the kingdome. And Marie the mother of the now living king of Scots, did in like sort in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and two, in the tenth of hir age, and as much of hir gouernment of Scotland appoint procuratoris to gouerne the realme, whilste she remained in France with the French king hir husband. But enough of this, sith Lesleus in his 9. booke pag. 429, and also in his 10. booke pag. 517, hath liberallitie argued on both parts, at what yeares the kings of Scotland may assume to themselves the gouernment of the kingdome, after that they haue attaine to the crowne in those yeares, which are ouer tender and vntit to dispose of the sword and scepter. Wherefore to passe ouer the same, I thinke it not vnmēt in this place, sith we haue mentioned this Spoxton (whch was the last regent, gouernour or protector of the kingdome, to set downe a catalog of all such regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to, my knowledge, after the same sort as I haue done in England at the end of the gouernement of the duke of Somerset, who was the last protector of that realme: into the discourse whereof I enter as followeth.

The protectors, gouernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minority or his insufficiecie of gouernement, or during his absence out of the realme.

Conanus.

Conanus was gouernor vnder Therens about the yeare before the birth of Christ, one hundred thirtie and seven: for Therens renouncing the kingdome and fli-
50 eng to France, where in the end he died, this Conanus during the exile of this Therens, was regent or gouernour, of whom witness Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89. Conanus qui rempublicam Theretiam exultans loco optimè administraret, interrex à nobilibus declaratur. Nam Therero viuo nullum alium regem substituere voluerunt, quo mortuo, Iosina eius frater suffecit est.

Cadallus.

Cadallus living about the yeare before the birth of Christ, seuentie and nine, did pursue Gillus (the bastard of Cuenus) haing slaine the sonne of Cuenus, and usurping the crowne, of whom thus witness Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 92. Tandem autore Cadallo viro fortissimo, qui interrex à regni nobilibus interea constitutus est, quidam in illum (whch was Gillus) conspirant, quem in Hiberniam profugam asecurti, inita prius pugna capiunt, & statim capite plectuntur.

Argadus earle of Argyle.

Argadus earle of Argyle, when Conar who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and eight, was cast in prison for his euill life, was by the nobilitie chosen gouernour of Scotland, after which Ethodius the next king, whome this Argadus

holpe vnto the crowne made him chiefe Justice of Scotland to him and his heires, whch function at this daie the earles of Argyle do inioie by inher-
tance.

Donald, Cololan, Mordaco and Conrade were Donald, Col-
made gouernors of the kingdome, so thus witness lan, Mo-
Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 108. Sene etatis tandem radio il-
daco, & Con-
lius (whch was Elgine who began his reigne about
the yeare of Christ, seuen hundred thirtie and three)
vires ita debilitate sunt, & cum regni oneri ferendo
impar fuerit, quatuor sui regni regulos (in quibus pra-
stantis quædam sed fucata virtutis species eluxit) de-
legit, quibus singulis singulæ prouincias decrevit;
Donaldo Argadiam; Colano Atholiam; Mordaco
Gallouidiæ; & Conano Morauiam.

William Fraiser bishop of S. Andrews, &c: after william
the death of Alexander the third king of Scotland, Fraiser,
which fell in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand two
hundred four score and thre, who died without issue;
the nobilitie (because it was not knownen to whome
the kingdome did apperteine, sith there were manie
which claimed the same, as Ballo, Byle, Ha-
sings, and others) agreed amongst themselves, and
those six regents or gouernors of the same, vntill a
king were fulte known and established: the names
of which six were these, William Fraiser bishop of
saint Andrewes, Duncane earle of Fife, John
Cumine earle of Buchquane, to whome the rule of
the north parts were committed. The other thre
were Robert bishop of Glascot, sir John Cumine,
and James high Treward of Scotland, who had the
disposition of the south parts.

Hugh Cressingham an Englishman was made Hugh Cress-
ingham, gouernor of Scotland by Edward the first, who go-
ing into France about the yeare of Christ one thou-
sand two hundred ninetie and six, after that he had
brought Scotland vnder his subjection, appointed
the said Hugh (whom he had before made treasour
of Scotland) to haue the gouernment of that realme
in his absence, whilste he was busied in the wars of
France. But not long after, this Cressingham was
slaine at Sterling by William Wallace (and such
Scots as attempted by all the force they could to set
themselves at libertie from the subjection of the
English) in the ides of September, in the yeare of
Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and seven,
at that time also Andrew Murray was slaine,
whose sonne did certeine yeares after (as hath Bu-
chanan lib. 3.) administer and gouerne Scotland for the
king.

William Wallace after manie wachye exploits william
done in the behalfe of his countre against the En- wallace,
glish, was for the Scots chosen gouernor of the
realme vnder John Ballo, when the king had for-
saken the realme and was come into England, a-
bout the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred
ninetie and six, who after that (as is before touched)
did sea Cressingham the gouernor of Scotland v-
nder the king of England, whch Wallace did after in
the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie
and eight renounce his office of gouernor, and was
in the end for his rebellion against king Edward the
first king of England, and absolute lord of Scot-
land, taken, brought to London, daulen, hanged and
quartered, in the yeare of Christ one thousand syue
hundred and five.

John Cumine, after that William Wallace had John Cu-
givnen ouer his office of gouernor, was chosen to be
gouernor for the Scots, in purpose to tric with the
Englishmen for their liberties, whch being know-
en to Edward the first king of England, he sent an
armie into the countre, and destryed it. Wherupon
John Cumine admitted Simon Fraiser fellow
with him in the administration of the wars against
the

the English, and discomfited the English in the yere
of our Lord God, one thousand three hundred and
two. After which, king Edward being againe a
conqueror of the Scots, returned homewards
and left Domarre de Waleſſe his deputie in Scot-
land.

Domare de
Malence op
Tuner de
Galence.

Domare de Valence or Aimer de Valence, uncle to king Edward the first king of England by the halfe bloud, was about the yeare of our Lord one thousand thre hundred and fourre, made governour of Scotland vnder Edward the first king of England, who before in the yeare one thousand thre hundred & two, tooke William Wallace and sent him to London to king Edward, to be dealt withall as you haue heard before. After whiche Robert Brule being crostoned king of Scotland, was on the nineteenth of June in the yeare of Christ one thousand thre hundred and six, at Avesen discomfited by the English armie, and put to flight by the said Domare de Valence, who after banished all those whiche anie waie tooke part with king Robert Brule. But in the end Robert Brule recovering himselfe & more aduaunce all the Englishmen out of Scotland, governing the kingdome all his life, by himselfe & his substitutes, as by that whiche followeth maie well appeare.

Thomas
Randolph.

Thomas Randolph earle of Murrete, much about the yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred and six and twentie, being about the 21 yere of Robert Bruse, was made protector of the realme. For Robert Bruse being fallen into extreme sicknesse, whereby he could not wéld the scepter to governne as the state of that countre required, committed the administration of the realme to erle Thomas Randolph, and to James Dowglasse knight, who ruled the same to their singular commendation, and the countreis god about fourre yeares, during the life of the said Robert Bruse, whose death happened in the yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred twentie and nine. After the death of king Robert, when Dauid his sonne came to the crowne, being 49 yett feuen yeares old, this Randolph was againe appointed to haue the administration of the kingdome as regent of the same, during the kings minoxtie and insufficiencie of gouvernement, who confirmed a new peace betwixne Engeland and Scotland. Shortlie after whiche the gouernor died of poison at Muscleborongh, in the yere of our redempcion one thousand thre hundred thirtie and one, being about the second yere of king Dauid, & was buried at Dumfermling, having had two sons, John erle of Murrete, and Thomas, both being persons worthy of such a fader.

Patrike
Dunbar.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March was made regent after this sort. After the death of earle Thomas Randolph, there was an assemblie of parlement of the thre estates of the realme, in which in the said yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred thirtie and one, and the second yere of the regne of king David, these two, Patrike earle of March and David (whom Lele calleth Donald) earle of Marre were chosen gouernours of the realme by common consent. Whereof the first had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Frith, & the other was appointed to gouerne all that on the north: which Donald in the yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred thirtie and two was slaine sleeping in his bed at Duplin neare to the wa-ter of Erne, by such as followed and toke part with Edward Wallois attaining the crotone, and expelling David from the kingdome.

Andrew
Murrey.

Andrew Murrete, a man of great power, and of no less possession, having performed many exploits of warre for his countrey, was made gouvernor after the death of the earle of Marre, and soone

in that office with Patrike of Dunbar earle of March. Shortlie after whilc this Andew was taken prisoner at Rockborough, being yet in the end ransomed for a great summe of gold. After whilc he died of a vehement sicknesse, and was buried in Rose Marke, in the yeare of Chist one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight.

Archibald Douglass, after the decease of Andrew Murray, was by one consent of the nobilitie chosen gouernor in the place of Andrew Murray, whilſt king Edward did besiege Berwick, who raiſing a power of men entred England, and cauſed the king to remoue his ſiege of Berwick. Afterward this Douglass was kaine at the battell of Halidon hill, in the year of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two (as ſome haue) but Hector Boetius and Buchanan reſer it to the year of our Lord God one thousand three hundred thirtie and thre, the nineteenth of Iulie.

Robert Steward regent of Scotland possessed Robert Steward
that place, at this time also when David Cumine was
was governour for Edward Balliol; for this twi-
teth Leslie li.7.pa.234. Verum ne patria gubernato-
ris imperio destituta, aduersariorum inhdij's pa-
teret magis, Robertus Stuartus omnem regni curam
in se transfluit, quoad David ex Gallia rediret, ipse
tuc regni gubernacula suscepturnus. By which words
appeareth, that as David Cumine was governour
for Edward Balliol gone into England, so this
Robert Steward tooke upon him the regentship for
king David Bwne fled into France: the which he
the rather did, because he would encounter David
Cumine which had spoiled him of all his luyngs and
patrimony. Which Robert being thus procurator
of the kingdome, granted sundrie p[ro]mises to the
inhabitants of Bute & Arrane, as amongst other
things, to be frē from payeng of tribute of corne
and graime. For this Steward togither with John
Randolph earle of Murrey, were by a councell as-
sembled at Edenborowgh by generall voices elec-
ted and confirmed to be governours of the realme, a-
bont the yeare of Chist one thousand thre hundred
thirtie and four, or one thousand thre hundred thir-
tie and five.

Robert Steward earle of Fife, second sonne to Robert Steward the first king of Scotland (by the name of Steward) and the second by the name of Robert, was (because his father became extreme old, and could not follow the affaires of the kingdome) made gouernor by the consent of the realme during the life of his father, about the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred four score and nine, being about the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the said Robert the second: which office this Robert continued during the life of his father, dyng in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and nine.

died entrie. After whose death, when Robert the third, being before called John, came to the kingdome, and had by a fall from his horse so hysed himselfe, that he was not able to follow the government of the kingdome, this Robert earle of Fife his brother was made governour of the kingdome. After which about the yeare of our redempcion one thousand thre hundred thre and eighte, being about the thirteyn yeare of Robert the thirde king of Scotland, the king creasid this Robert Stewart, duke of Albani, being vne of the first dukes which were made in Scotland. Besides which also, after the death of the same Robert the thirde, which fell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and six, this Robert duke of Albani was by new election, or rather confirmation establishid in the office of governour (as hant some Scottis chronicles) which duke of Albani died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and nineeteen, the third of September, when he had bene governour fifteene yeares after the death of Robert the thirde. Wherein it seemeth to me so far this time that there is much difference of yeares, if the Scots haue truelie set the same downe: so those accounts can not stand together, with the death of king Robert the thirde, and the yeares government of the duke of Albay, after the death of the King. But I passe it ouer, and rather impute the fault to the offendour, in mistaking the figure of the number of yeares, than anie want of consideration in the wryter of the histo-
rie.

Goddacke
Steward.

Goddacke Steward erle of Fife & Menthie, the eldest sonne of Robert duke of Albani, was after his fathers death made governour of Scotland, continuing in that office by the space of seuen years, until about the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and four, in which year he syng meaneis to bring home James the right king of Scots, who had bene eighteene yeares detayned in England, and placed him in the kingdome of Scotland, by the name of James the first: at that time the crowne was set vpon the kings head with the hands of the said Goddacke the governour, & the bishop of saint Andewes. This duke was in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and six, and in the second yeare of the reigne of James the first committed of high treason, and beheaded before the castell of Sterling. He had thre two sons, Walter Steward, and Alexander, which were also beheaded at the same place the day before the death of their father.

Alexander Leningstone knight was made governour, the day after that James the second was crownd, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand four hundred thirtie & six: for the king being but syx yeres old, the nobilitie did appoint the said Alexander Leningstone of Calender knight to be governour of the realme: at that time the kings person was committed to the education and rule of William Crichton knight lord chancellor, who was then confirmed in his office. At this in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred thirtie and four, about the eight yere of James the second, they both (through dissencion which had long continued betweene them about their authoritie) were put from their offices, remayned from the king and their friends, banished the court, and they themselves committed to a prisone before the chancellor because they refusid to do it, they were both remayned rebely and put in the prisone: among them selfe of Crichton, was Agnes the daughter of the duke of Westmerland a widow to James the seconde, who was put with her to be governour of the realme, after the death of James the second, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand

six hundred and thre score (when James the third his sonnes was but seuen yeares old) the nobilitie assembled at Edinborough to provide for the administration of the realme, because the king was syng. Whereupon there were seuen regents appointed for the government both of the kings person, and also of the kingdome, whih were Marie the queene his mother, James Hennefie bishop of saint Andewes, being intercalme to James the first, the bishop of Glascow, the earles of Angus, Huntly, Argyle, and Orkney: these so long as Hennefie, agreed well together about the government of the realme, but shortly after his decease, or rather before, they fell at square, whih we will more largely touch hereafter: when we haue a little spoken of the death of this bishop, falling in the yeare of our redempcion one thousand four hundred thre score and six, and in the first yeare of the reigne of king James the third, who being buried in the college of saint Andewes which he founded most sumptuously in the towne of saint Andewes, did in his life time besides his bishoplike hold in his possession the commandie of the abbete of Pettinwey, which was worth unto him 800 crownes by yeare: the gracie and wisdom of whih bishop occasioned Leuis in his commendation to set downe these few words.

Hic (which was shis bishop of saint Andewes) prudentia consilioque ita valuit, ut quicquid latet in republica insularum, appetiret, unde merito potest dici, non armis regem, sed ingenio episcopam Douglasti superbiam frigisse, actum reuidentem. Tria confecit (quorum fabrica artificioris signior polita, & sumptu magnificè instru-^{as} omnibus admirationem sui faciebant) collegium sancti Salvatoris, in quo suauit ad eruditiorum ac religiosorum informari posse; sepulchrum quo mortuus regebat, ac nauim onerariam ingens magnitudinis. Horum unumquodque exaudientibus preciis vulgi sermonis celebratum est. After his death, or rather (as hath Hector Boetius) in his life in the second yeare of the reigne of king James the third, & being in the yeare that the two became felix one thousand four hundred thre score and two, there was discord kindled betwene quidec Marie the Dowager, and the archbishop Hennefie, the pretensing that the woman ob-
solute leste to vnap the government vnto hir selfe; whilste it in that behalfe, in so much that it was doubted that the matter would haue brooken forth into some cruell warre, if that the bishops of Glascow, Donkele, and Aberden, with certeine abbats had not taken in hand to swelle betwene both the parties for attouement, who wrought so extreemly hereby, that the matter was quieted of this maner. The queene mother was appoynted to haue the charge and custode of the kings person, and of his brether Alexander duke of Albani, and John earle of Marre, and also of their two sisters. But as for the administration and government of the realme of Scotland, the shold deuide it to the peers, wherefore by common con-
sent there were chosed as governour the bishops of Glascow, and Marchale, the earle of Huntly, the late Graham, perhous Both, and the chancellor, and judges, in so much as in the same Margaret the daughter to Henrie the sixteth king of England was hafted the death of her husband James the fourth, and in the mariage of her sonne James the fifth, being banished and excommunicate when he was innesid in the kingdome made regent of the realme, whih shold haue greate the countee of James Hennefie and Bishop Douglast, the earle of Huntly, Angus, and Arane,

Alexander
Leningstone.

William
Crichton.

Marie.

John duke of
Albanie.

Arrane, but shortly after they falling out amongst themselves for the bestowing of benefices, the duke of Albanie was called out of France to performe that office.

John duke of Albanie being sent for out of France (where he accustomed to abide) to come into Scotland (to be tutor to the king and governor of the realme, as he which next of blood to the king, and nexter to the crowne) was by universall consent at saint Johns towne admitted to those offices accordinglie, having the same confirmed unto him by a parliament holden at Edinburgh in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtene, and the first yeare of the yong king James the fist. Whereof intelligence being brought unto the duke, yet in France, he in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fourteene, directly dilatorie and excusing letters of his acceptance of that charge. At that time, but in the yere following, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand five hundred and fiftene, and in the thrid of James the fist, on the seuentene of Maie, he arrived at the towne of Aire in Scotland to execute his office of governoz, who was honorabile interteined at sundrie places as he passed along by the sea coasts, before he came to Edinburgh. After whiche a parliament was made to be called at Edinburgh (being but the continuall of the former parliament, as my memorie serueth) in which this duke of Albanie was againe confirmed governoz, the scepter and sword being delivered unto him, and an oþ by him to the lords, and by the lords to him given, that ech of them shold be faithfull to ech other, and eruerie of them to their lord and king, &c. After this the duke of Albanie going into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seventene, as fatch Lesleus, committed the government of the kingdome in his absence to the archbishops of S. Andrewes and Glascow, and to the earles of Huntlie, Argyle, Angus, and Arrane. And least anie euill might happen to the kings person in his absence, he appointed the king to be brought into the castle of Edinburgh, there to be committed to the earle marshall, and to the lords Echwine, Bothwike, and Ruthene, whereof two at the least shold alwates be present with him. The duke having thus bene about some thre yeres in France, returned into Scotland about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentie, remaining still governoz; but in following time, whiche was the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and four, and about the twelwe yere of the reigne of king James the fist, the duke of Albanie left that office, and went againe into France.

Margaret the
queene.

Margaret the queene, the mother of James the fist, did (after the departure of the duke of Albanie into France, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and four, the six and twentith of Iulie) syde meanes that the yong king came from Sterling unto Edinburgh: thre daies after whiche the queene tooke the whole government upon her, and entred into the castle of Edinburgh with the king, making the lord Maxwell provost of Edinburgh. Then the queene appointing a parliament to be held the Februarie following, there were in the same parliament eight lords chosen to be of the kings priuate councell, to take on them the government of the king and the realme, whiche were the archbishop of S. Andrewes and Glascow, the bishops of Aberdeen & Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Arrane and Baneur, to whom the queene was adioined as principal, without whose advise nothing shoulde be done. Whiche ordinance did not long hold, Archibald Douglas earle of Angus in the

end fullie getting the whole government into his hands.

Archibald Douglas (after that the bishop of Dun-<sup>Archibald
baine was dead, and the queene gone unto Sterling, Douglas,</sup> leauing the king with the earle of Angus, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and five, being about the thirteenth of James the fist) tooke the whole government vpon him both of the king and kingdome, setting vp, removing, and pulling downe what officer it best pleased him: whiche for the more declaration of his authoritie and government, made his uncle Archibald Douglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed all benefices and offices by the aduise of his brother George Douglas and the earle of Lenore who assisted him. After whiche there was a diuorce had betweene the queene and the earle, who falling in the kings disgrace in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, and the sixteenth yeare of the same James the fist, was attainted by parliament holden at Edinburgh in September, when the king had taken the absolute government into his hands in the seventeenth yeare of his age, and the said sixteenth yeare of his said government. Whereupon the yere following, this Archibald came unto the king for to submit himselfe, but the king would not receive him, by reason wherof he fled into England.

James earle of Arrane in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourtie and two, when Marie of Arrane.

(the daughter of James the fist) being but seuen daies old obtained the kingdome, was by authoritie of the nobilitie proclaimed regent and protector of Scotland, notwithstanding all that David Beton, fauoror of the French causes had without all reason sharped the government, under the pretense of a devised will and testament of James the fist, in whiche testament he was appointed governoz. This earle thus made protector, appointed by the old queene consent a governoz to the person of the yong queene, whiche was the lord Livingston capteine of Lithquo. This protector in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourtie and four, being the second yere of queen Marie, was by the French king made knight of the order of saint Michael. About eight yeres after whiche, that is in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and thre, being about the twelwe yere of queene Marie, this earle was forced to leane his office of governoz, and the queene tooke the same into her hands, appointing procuratores to rule the same vnder hir: wherevpon the governoz in the yere following, being one thousand five hundred fiftie & four, was by the French king made duke of Chatelerault. The procuratores whiche were appointed for and by queene Marie, were (as hath Lesleus) Henrie king of France, Charles cardinal of Loreine and the duke of Guise his brother, touching whom thus witteth the same Lesleus in ^{Lesleus lib. 18} these wordes: Hos (whiche was hir curatores) sibi in pag. 517.

60 Gallia delegera regina nostra (being Marie the queene of Scots) matri suauis Henricum regem Francie, Carolum cardinalem Lotharingum, ac ducem Guisum eiusfratrem, qui totam regni nostri molentem reginæ matri procurandam transtulerunt: &c. This duke had issue James Hamilton earle of Arrane after lunatike, and one David Hamil-

ton. <sup>Marie descended of the house of Guise, the dowers
of Scotland, as widow to James the fist, and
mother to the yong queene Marie, was in the yeare
of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and four,
being the twelwe yere both of the age and reigne of
the same queene Marie, made regent of Scotland
vnder hir daughter the same yong queene, which
office</sup>

Lesleus
pag. 56

James
queene

Mari
earle
prot.

Marie dows-
ter of Scots
land,

office this regent tooke vpon his having the same confirmed by parlement, continuing in that place about six years, & died in the castle of Edenburgh, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thre score, being vpon the point of the eighteenth yeare of queene Marie, whose bodie (as hath Lesleus) was after caried into France, for thus he wryteth : *Postea lib. 10. p. 169.*

Postea lib. 10. p. 169. *James Stewart.*

Fuit autem corpus in Gallia postea transactum, primum ad monasterium Fecamense, quod in Normania est, deinde ad cenobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui soror ipsius p[re]i tunc praerat, delatu[m] honorifice condebatur.

James Stewart bastard sonne to king James the first king of Scots, and bale brother to Marie queene of Scots now living and imprisoned, being p[ro]p[ter] of saint Andrews and earle of Mar, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and two, being about the twentieth yeare of the reigne of the same queene Marie, made earle of Murreie. About five yeares following, after that the nobilitie had conspired against queene Marie, tooke hit, committed hit to prison, deposed hit, and vpon the same (on the nineteenth daye of Julie in the yeare a thousand five hundred thre score and seven, being the five & twentieth yeare of the reigne of that queene) aduanced hit sonne Charles James Stewart (being then about a yare old) to the kingdome, by the name of James the sixt : this James earle of Murreie, was made regent and gouernor of the yong king James the sixt, and of the kingdome : who vpon the office received, did by parlement abolish the popes authortie and doctrine in Scotland: continuing that office of regent vntill his death, falling about the time of thre yeares after. For in the time of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the sixt, this regent as he was riding through Lithquo, was shot at with an harquebus by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that he died of the hurt the next daye following, having before in that yeare, in which he was created earle of Murreie, maried Agnes Keith daughter to the earle Marshall.

Matthew
earle of L-
ew.

Pathe[re] earle of Leneur, being sent for out of England, where he had before long remained, was after the death of the earle of Murreie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the fift yeare of the reigne of James the sixt, made lord lieutenant or protector of Scotland, in a convention of the lords of Sterling. After which in August following, there was another convention at Edenburgh, where by the content of the thre estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland, at that time the earle of Huntly tooke vpon him to be lord lieutenant of Scotland: for Marie queene of Scots remaining then vnder custodie in England, which Huntly in his name summoned a parlement at Lithquo the 21 d[omi]ni of September, wherunto the earle of Leneur was summoned: to encounter wher[re] the earle of Leneur caused a parlement likewise to be summoned in the kings name at the same place, wherunto the earle of Huntly was warned at the same date. But the earle of Huntly was ordered no nearer at that time than Brechin, it was ordered by the regent Leneur and the nobilitie, to pursue him: whereupon ensued great warres betwene the nobilitie of Scotland divided into factions, some taking part with the deposed queene Marie, and other with the yong king in possession. During which tumultes and wars, this earle of Leneur having bin regent about a yare and more, was wounded at Sterling with a pistol by capitaine Calder, wherof he shoulde after die, in the yeare of Christ

one thousand five hundred thre score and eleven, being about the fourth yeare of James the sixt.

John Arscleyn earle of Mar was made regent *John Arscleyn* after the death of the earle Leneur, as mate appare *kin earle of Mar.* by that wher[re] I have before set downe in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, after whome succeeded the earle Morton, of whome I have a little *Earle Morton* before spoken, and of whome we will more intreat *ton regent of herafter, when we come to speake of his beheading, Scotland.*

in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and one, falling about the fourteenth yeare of Lewes the sixt, after that the said earle had continued that office about five yeares. For being aduanced to that place, about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and twelve, he continued in the same, vntill he surrendered it, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentene, as is before touched. Thus letting end to the discourse of the protectors of Scotland, let vs descend to other matters wher[re] haue succeeded.

Going therefore forward with that yeare one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentene, we saie that much about the time in the wher[re] the earle Morton gave over his regentship, that the lord Glames, who was then in office of the chancellorship, was trecherouslie slaine by his enimies at Sterling, with a shot of purpose discharged agaynt him, as he was comming out of Sterling castell, & going to his owne lodging from the councell or parlement. Wherby it seemeth that this murshering by sudden shot began now to be a common thing: for there were thre great persons in short time dispatched after that shot, wher[re] were the earles of Murreie and Leneur regents, & this lord Glames chancellor. After the death of wher[re] lord Glames, the earle of Atholl was aduanced to that place, and inuested with the title of lord chancellor of Scotland.

The lord
Glames chan-
celor slaine.

Wherfore, hauing so god occasion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancellor to treat of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, my disagreeable to the nature of the matter wher[re] I haue in hand, somewhat by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, wher[re] I will do in few words.

This officer the chancellor had his first origi-

The original
name king of Scots, who beginning his reigne in the chancellor,

the yeare of our redemption one thousand and ten, and governing thirtie yeares, departed the wold in the yeare of Christ one thousand and xix. This man, during the time of his government, ordeining manie necessarie laws for the better rule of his countrey, and for the benefit of the crowne, did also first ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdome, as chancellor, constable, marshall, chamberleine, and others, as appeareth by Lesleus in his historie of Scotland in these words: *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 204.*

Feliciter rempublicam
multis & egregijs operibus illustravit (king Malcolme)

Leviat auctoritate: *Leviat auctoritate: cunctisque ex parte*
municipialium legum volumen condidit, quas
nostrates exinde in iudicij seruare, nihil
pene immutatas, regiorum magistratum iudiciumque,
quos licet mundus, magisque Latine vocare
possunt, vulgo tamen cancellarium, constabili[m],
maricallum, camerarium, iusticiariumque vocant,
& qui a secretis, a thesauris, a cubiculo, a chartophyl-
laceo essent: cunctisque ministrorum aulae an-
nuia salario, ut nostris diebus penduntur, quantumque
regijs pro diplomatis, ac ceteris lireris, libel-
lioribus, tabularijs, lectorib[us]que soluendum fore,
instituit. This officer being in Scotland before the
time of Edward the confessor, seemeth also to me to
veritate

verrie to prove, that the same officer was in Eng-
land before the time of the same king, sith it appea-
reth, that the Scots for the most part haue alwaies
taken their maner of gouernement, lawes, and cu-
stomes from vs, as will be I doubt not sufficiente
proved, although it mafe be that some will affirme
that they mift haue this officer from the French-
men & Romans as other nations had: which as I
do not suppose, because the Romans had but little
dwings amongst them, so as they never vied ante
such officer in this land whilſt they gouerned here
(for ante thing that I can yet learene) so it mafe be,
(because they will not ſeeme to haue borrowed ante
order of their gouernement from vs) that they will
ſuppoſe that they had the firſt ground of this officer
from the French, with whome they haue alwaies
beene in league ever ſince the time of their king A-
chains the firſt, who (beginning his reigne in the
yeare of Chilſ ſeven hundred ſonreſcore and eight)
did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great.
But leaſing this, to ſaiſ (more particularlie trea-
ting of Scotland) that much about this time, John
Lesle bishop of Rosse (who haſe ſome yeares before
beene ſome certeine time impiſoned in the Tower
of London in England, and had travelled to Rome
about the affaires of the impiſoned queene of Scot-
land, where he labored to procure ſuch aid for her, as
the princes which fauored her faction would yeld)
did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to
Randulph, as the ſecond of that name now em-
peror. Which ſaid Lesle, taking his tourneſe out of
Italie, paſſed through the frontier townes of Ger-
manie, and was ſtated at Platburgh, otherwife
called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Bauer,
countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Welde-
zens; in which citie, his coffers and other things
were rifled and ſearched: at that time there were
mante writingſ found, and amongſt others cer-
teine papers, in which did appeare what friends the
queene of Scots had of all the parts of Europe,
what enimies, and what neutrals: with letters
and other inſtructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithstanding (thoſh they gaue the
ſaid George occaſion to miſtrouſt Lesle, as an en-
emie to his religion) this bishop of Rosſe was after-
ward diſmifſed, because he was furnished with the
emperors paſpōt, or ſafeconduct to come unto him.
Wherfore the duke of Bauer for his better di-
charge, and to mañiſt to the world that they did
nothing but that, which both the preuent estate of
theſe troublome times, and the dutie of a religi-
ous prince required, diſhonorable diſmifſed the ſaid
Lesle, bearing all his charges, reſtozing all his
goods, & conueyng him out of his dominions with
a godlie compaie of horſemen, after that he had
cauſed the ſaid bishop of Rosſe to leaue a testimonial
all writing in the Latine tongue vnder his owne
hand, to ſhew that no iniurie was done to the ſaid
bishop, in that his detaining and ſearch for thone
cauſes; & that the bishop ſhould not ante wate ſeke
ante reuenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as
I received the ſame) I haue faithfullie and verbaſit
ſet downe in this ſort.

The testimonial left by the bishop
of Rosſe with the duke of
Bauer.

Nos Iohannes Lesleus, Dei gratia, epi-
copus Rosſensis, & administrator Mo-
rauia, &c: testamur hoc ſcripto palam
& apud omnes hoc inſpecturos, aut lec-
turos. Cum in hiſce periculis & mo-

tuum pleniffimis tempdibus omnibus facti imperi-
principibus & magistratibus proſpectio inculbat,
ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detimenti
accipiant, neque per prætereunteſ & redeunteſ ex
externis nationibus, calidas negationes, ad iuban-
dum pacem publicam, aut noxias diſſentioſes ſub
quoſi pretextu tractari, ſtrui aut ſeminari inter or-
dines & membra imperij ſinat aut patiantur; præ-
cipue cum nunc exempla in viciniſ locis extat, quam
facile aliquid ſtrui & ſeminari poſſit. Ita factum eſt,
vt illiſtrissimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes conies
Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauaria, comiſque Veldent-
zia, &c: moſtus præcedentibus & alijs rationibus, in
abſentia, per ſuos capitanos & miſtros, in ſuo ter-
ritorio Lutzelſteinensi, & vrbe Palatinopoli, nos
cum noſtris retineri mandauerit. Quam cauſam &
mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam ex-
equeretur, ſignificauit. Poſt factam retentionem, cel-
ſitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis
communicatis de Spira, vbi mandatum dederat,
proteſtatione ibi aliqua habita, feſtinanter huc ap-
pulit: præſertim etiam ſimul cum literis imperato-
ris, aliqua copia inſtructionis & memorialium eius
celſitudini miſta fuerat, vnde aucta ſuſpicio, aliquid
nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cum
mentio aliqua extirpanda religionis hiſce verbiſ
facta fuerit, nimisrum, vt extirpata hereti, religio
reuiſeat, & ſimul cum procuratione Scoticorum
monaſteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot poſſident,
aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, præſertim
cum plurimos catholicæ religionis principes &
epiſcopos in itinere cum literis credentib⁹ a papa
ſalutauerimus, & inuiſerimus. Ad quam ſuſpicionem
amouendam & purificandam, cum celſitudo eius
aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conati ſumus
celſitudini eius ſatisfacere. Eſi tamen aliquid ſcu-
puli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus
negotijſ quaꝝ vrgerem reiñeret, quaꝝ pacem pub-
licam tam in religione, quam politicis perturbare, &
ſuſpicionem principibus Auguſtanæ confeſſionis
mouere, non minus quam iſipſiſ celſitudini poſſent.
Nihilominus celſitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus,
quam præcedentibus ſuſpicionibus imminentium
periculorum non diuitiis nos detenturos conuulſit.
Ea tamen conditione, vt promitteremus nos con-
tra patria in cauſa religionis per viam armorum, aut
ſtructione diſſentioñum, aliquid nunquam tentatu-
ros, ſicut & alibi: ſed quod exhortationibus pijs &
doctrina facere poſſimus, liberam relinquare con-
ſcientiam. Secund⁹, quod policeamur more ſolito,
pro noſtro, noſtrarumque familiarum nomine, neq;
per noſ neque per alios, vila via & ratione quaꝝ no-
minari poſſit, illam detentioñem vindicatam fore.
Quare conſideratione habita periculorum & motu-
rum, quaꝝ paſſim (potiſſimum verò in locis viciniſ)
cernuntur, ſacro imperio, optima ratione metuen-
dum & vigilandum, maximè verò in extremitis im-
periū limitibus & terminis. Ideo ab illiſtrissima eius
celſitudine ratione publicorum decretorum, & ar-
ciſtissimæ inter ordines coiunctionis, hanc circuſpectio-
nem & detentioñem noſtram non iniquo animo
ferimus, neque pro iniuria accipimus: cum præ-
ſertim eius celſitudo non modò liberaliter nos ha-
buerit, ſed abſque omni rerum noſtrarum iactura,
alijsque diſpendijs, nos liberos fecerit, & gratiōe
ſplendido equitum comitatu in maiorem ſecuri-
tatem deduci iuſſerit. Idcicō ſancte pollicemur,
(decreto Conſtantiniſ c. ciliij, quo diuerſis à Ro-
mana religione hominibus fidem datam ſeruan-
dam haud eſſe ſancitum ſiſſe dicitur, hoc ipſo ſcrip-
to & optimo modo remuntrantes) noſtro, noſtrarumque
familiarum nomine, iam neque per noſ, ne-
que per alios vila vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua,
quaꝝ eius celſitudinem, aut eius famulos aut ſubditos
&

& ditiones hanc retentionem perseguiri vel vindicare
velle. Et ad maiorem huius scripti & promissi corro-
boracionem propria manu signauimus, & sigillo
nostro appresso confirmauimus. Actum & datum
Luzelstene 28 Decemb:is : anno Domini 1578.

Iohannes Lesleus episcopus Rossensis
& administrator ecclesie Mor-
vensis.

This Leslie being yet living, and (as I understand) in great credit in France, possessing the place of the chancellor of Lions, is descended of an ancient familie, as one whose ancestors and name hath both inioied honorable titles in descent, and great places of governement in the common wealth of Scotland. For when Edgar the sonne of Edward the outlaw and kinsman to Edward the Confessor king of England was bereft with vniuersall war, first by Harold king of England the son of Godwin, & then by the Norman bastard surnamed the Conqueror, which sene Harold and obtained the crowne of England; Edgar did priuilegi take shippynge with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, to the end, that being now out of all hope euer to obteine the kingdom of England, they might direct their course and saile againe into Hungarie, from whence they came. But it happened by divine prouidence, that being on the sea, they were grienoulike molested with vehement winds, which forcible made them forsake their appointed course, and draxe them into the mouth of the river of Forth or Firth, whose landing place is yet to be seene, & at this date called S. Margarets haven (after the name of hir which was suster to this Edgar & called Margaret) whome Malcolme king of Scots (for the rare parts both of body & mind wherwith he was wonderfully indued) did after take to wife, & solemnly crowned to the great comfort of the whole kingdome. Upon which deed William the Conqueror being more greevous molested than he was before, banished all the friends of Edgar out of England. By occasion whereof, Lindesie, Taus, Ramsete, Louell, and divers other men of great nobilitie came then first into Scotland to crawe aid of king Malcolme; which persons being liberallie indued with rich possessions by the same Malcolme, their posteritie do at this date in our age flourishe with great hono. Besides which also, at this time there came out of Hungarie with Agatha before touched divers other persons of account, as Crichton, Fodzingham, Giffert, Span-
is, Rotheike, and others; amongst whome Bartholomeus Leslie descended of noble parentage, and of great valor, of mind, did with the rest appearre verie famous, whose sharpe wit, and excellency of knowledge (joined with a sound and strong bodie) when Malcolme the king of Scots did behold, he vied his helpe in the defense of the castell of Edinburgh, and in all other weightie affaires which concerned the warres.

Out of this familie of the Leslies have syng and flourisched manie worthie persons, valiantlie resyng and subduing their enimies. And amongst those, one Walter Leslie earle of Ross, who afterward purchased such singular commendation for valor and wise domine shewed in manie battels of the emperor Leuwen the second, & Charles the fourth, against the Saracens, &c (one of their owne name now a bishop of Ross, in his bischoprie of Scotland saith) a quodam animi generoso impetu, quo hostes frigere, & sub iugis fortius mittere solebat, generosi equitis cognomentum fit consecutus: ciudem stirpis comes Rothesius, multique alij barones & equites Leslei cognominati (quos Malcolmus primum,

ac alij deinde reges multis amplisque agris, in Fifa, Augusia, Gourea, & Gareocha, alijisque prouincijs munifice cumulabant) magnæ hodie nobilitatis virtutisque commendatione in Scotia vigent. Of whose line and name at this daie (as is before said) continuing in great hono, the earle of Rothos now living called Leslie duxellath in Fifa, and married the daughter of the earle of Gowrie or Gowtike, the same earle of Rothos being a person no less wise and honorable, than descended of ancient and honorable ancestors. But leauing that familie, let vs retorne from whence we haue digressed.

The bishop of Rose being departed from the duke of Banier (as before you haue heard) in the yeare following, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and nintene, Amies Stewart the lord of Obignie in France, being of the house of the Stewards, and sonne to John the eldest brother of Mattheu Leneur, sometime regent of Scotland, buried at Sterling, as is before touched, did come into Scotland, was by the king most honorablie receiued, and advanced to further hono. For the king taking from Robert Stewart (whom the last yeare he had created earle of Leneur) the title of that earledome of Leneur, he now invested this lord of Obignie with the same, and created him earle of Leneur, thereby more firmelie to bind the lord of Obignie in France to be faythfull unto him in Scotland. And least he shold seeme by taking the earledome from Robert Stewart to haue wronged him, the king for recompence thereof, bestowed vpon the said Robert Stewart as honorablie a title and earldome as the same was, for he invested the same Robert with the earldome of March. Not long after which the king erecting the same earldome of Leneur into a dukedom, he did bestow that hono of duke vpon the said lord of Obignie, created him duke of Leneur, which title at this date, his sonne being a towardlie young gentleman doth most honorablie possesse, he being the onlie person in that countrie which doth in this our age inioie that title of duke, being such an hono as was but latelie begun amongst them, and never verie plentiful in that region: for the same hath not yet as I for this present suppose flourisched at anie one time (when that title was rysen amongst them) bese persons aduised with that stile. Now touching the matter of their first creation and continuance, I thinke it not vniut to saie somwhat in this place.

The first creation of dukes in that countrie was vied by Robert the third of that name, whose right name being John, was after turned vnto Robert, for doubt of euill successe to grow to the kingdome by a governour so called. For thus wiste the Scots as

Lesleus hath deliuered with these speches: Verum quum ipsi nobiles arbitraretur nomini inesse nescio quid omnis infauti, quod reges Francia & Anglia, hoc nomine consignati, bello prehenderetur, muta-

to nomine Robertum ut patrem eum appellari de-
creuerit. Quæ illorum siue in nominis obseruatione
superstitio, siue in regis conseruatione diligentia, ma-
ioris mali regi iam impendentis augurium. quod-
dam mihi videtur. Nam non multo post ex equo illi
decidenti, omnia membra ita contusa fuerunt, ut
(quod regnandi molestias ac labores nullo modo
poterat pati) Roberti comiti Fifensi fratri suo regni
gubernacione dedere cogeretur. Which John as be-
fore is said, haing now obteined a new name, was
the first which brought a new title of hono into his
kingdome: for he created David his eldest sonne
duke of Rotheste, and his brother Robert (whom he
had made protector of the kingdome) duke of Alba-
nia, as is set downe by the same Lesleus in these
words;

The lord of
Obignie
made earle of
Leneur.

Robert Ste-
ward made
earle of March,

The first crea-
tion of dukes
in Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 264.

To which
king John of
England and
France, he
might also
have adde
one of his own
country of
Scotland
John Balloil
the king, who
was as infor-
mante in his
government
as anie of the
other.

words; Tertio plus minus anno (whiche was about the yeare of our redemption one thousand thre hundred fourte score and thirtene) concilio ex omni ordinum genere Perthi habitio, post alias res pro regni cōmodo sapienter actas, rex Dauide in filium suum titulo ducis Rodsia, & Robertum fratrem suum quem regno administrando praeferat, ducis Albani honore ornabat: qui duo primi fuerunt in Scotia his titulis illustrati. Thus much be, prouing that it is not aboue one hundred fourte score and thirtene yeares since that title came first into Scotland. Wherby it appereth that England since the conquest hauing dukes erected by king Edward the third, who in the yeare of Christ one thousand thre hundred thirtie & feuen, made his eldest sonne duke of Cornwall, hath had dukes about two hundred fortie & nine yeeres past, being fiftie and six yere before they had a nre in Scotland. And as those two before named were the first whiche were invested with the honor of duke in Scotland, so after the death of the same king whiche fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and six, in the Interregnum or vacancie of the kingdome (which continued eightene yeares from the said yere of Christ one thousand four hundred and six, untill the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and four) in which James the first hanting beene traied by in England obtayned the crowne, and vnder the protectorschip of Godzacke (the sonne of the sayd Robert the first duke of Albane) to whom the government of the realme of Scotland was committed after the death of the said Robert the third.

Archibald Dowglasse was the first Scot whiche passing the seas, & seruing a strange prince, intold ante such title of duke in ante sovrein nation. For the Scots going then to aid the French against the English, the French king to honour the Scots and to bind them to be more faithfull unto him, created John Steward earle of Buquaine constable of France, & aduanced the said Archibald Dowglasse to the honor of the dukedom of Turone: but he did not long intoll that great title, being shortlie after slaine at the battell of Vernoile, in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and four. In treting of which battell Buccanan, whose name may rightlie be deduced from Bucca vana, beyond all indeſtie and course of reason forgetting his calling, his learning and humanitie, hath spued out all his malice against the English nation, whereof I haue treated in my former additions to the historie of Scotland. Thus hauing somewhat disgreſed from the matter of later yeares, therewith I ought to haue furnished my imperfect continuances of the annals of Scotland, I will returne to the lord of Degraine, who was at this time created duke of Lenox, and who occasioned me to make this discourse. Wherefore I will here set downe what Lesleus hath written of the first originall of that house in France, and of this duke of Lenox thus by the king rebolte as before said created, the words of whiche Lesleus bishop of Rosse be these: Nouam quoque Scotorum equitum turmam Carolus 6 (king of France, which had the warres against the king of England, when the Scots were thus aduanced in the dominions of France, being meane betwene the said yeares of Christ one thousand four hundred and six, and one thousand four hundred twentie and four) paulo ante conscriptis, qua vulgo Scotorum armatorum cohors dicebatur. Huius primus dux Robertus Stuartus ex Lenoxij comitis familia ortus, dominus de Aubigne multisq[ue] alijs terris, maneribus, honoribus, & balaigis cōmuni populi sermone dicitur, a rege insignitus est. Qua omnia a Scottis eiusdem cognominis & prospicx continuata, successio-

nis serie per Barnardum nimurum celebrem militia dicem, deinde per Robertum, denique Iohannem Stuartum comitis Lenoxij fratrem iam diu possessa, praeclaræ nobilitatis ac indolis iuuenis, Iohannis filius non paruam suorum virtutis spem de se excitans, etiam nunc hodie obtinet. Thus much Lesle. Beside whiche that Lesleus hath set downe of the first lord of Degraine in France, Paulus Iouius in his booke of Empresse written in Italian, hath not forgotten to speake somewhat of him, where he setteth downe the devise of his ensignes or armes in his booke translated by the into English.

There was (saith Iouius) amongst the Frenchmen a man of knowlene vertue or provesse, & most famous capteine called Heberard Steward, borne ^{*Barnard} of the blood roiall of Scotland being honored with the title of monsieur de Degraine, who being of kinred to James the fourth of that name, did beare for his devise or ensigne, a field siluer, a ramping lion gebules, with a number of buckles thereabout; the whiche cote armour he did weare vpon his vper garment, and likewise weare in his standard, with this posse, Distancia iungit: signifying thereby, that he was the mean or buckle to hold and knit togither the king of Scots and the French king, with a vise counterespisse against the force of the king of England, naturall enimie to Scotland and France. Thus much Iouius, & thus much I of the duke of Lenox lord of Degraine in France. After which, as I am now in discouering of dukes of that countrie, and haue shewed wher the first duke was made in Scotland, and who they were; I thinke it not vnfitt for this place, to set downe a catalog of all such dukes of Scotland as haue come vnto my knowlege by search of histories, since the creation of the same first dukes, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and eightene; which I will not refuse to do in this place, following the same course whiche I haue obserued before in the historie of England, where I haue set downe all the dukes, since the first creation of ante duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

A catalog of all the dukes of Scotland by creation or descent.

David Steward (eldest son of Iohit Steward, ^{David Steward} earle of Carricke, after called Robert earle of the third, and leauing the name of John Steward when he came to the crowne of Scotland) was (by parlement, about the yeare of Christ one thousand thre hundred fourte score and eightene, being the eight yeare of Robert the third) made duke of Rothesay, when he was about eightene yeares of age, or rather twentie, as by all accounts it must be, if that be true that he was borne the first and twentie day of October one thousand thre hundred thre score and eightene, made duke in the yeare one thousand thre hundred fourte score & eightene, as some haue. But Lesleus (as before) referreth this as I by all circumstancess do gather, to the yeare of Christ one thousand thre hundred fourte score & thirtene. He married Margarrie the daughter of Archibald earle Dowglas, about the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred, being the tenth of Robert the second.

Robert Steward second son to Robert the second ^{Robert Steward} king of Scots, by Elisabeth Bute or More his wife, being by his father created earle of Fife and Wentell, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand thre hundred fourte score and eightene, and the eight yeare of the government of Robert the second, ad-

named to the title and honor of the dukedom of Albani: this Robert and the other David as I have before noted, being the first dukes that ever were in Scotland. This man being gouernor of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and one, faling in the yeare of the reigne of Robert the third, did apprehend David the duke of Rothesie, and committed him to streit prisonment in Fankelard, where in the end he died by extreme famine, whose want of food was such, that he was faine to gnaw his owne fingers: of this Robert is more spoken in my protectors of Scotland.

Murdake
duke of Alba-
ni.

Alexander
duke of Alba-
ni.

Lesle.lib.8.
pag. 319.

Murdake called duke, was also earle of Fife, eldest sonne to this Robert duke of Albani, was as is most likelie duke of Albani after his father, who being gouernor of Scotland, occasioned me to intreat more of him in that place.

Alexander Steward the second sonne of James the second, was by his father aduanced to the dukedom of Albani, who being verie yong at the time of his fathers death, which happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred & threescore, was with his brother John earle of Mar, committed to the custodie of Marie their mother. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred threescore and thre, being the thrid yeare of James the third, he was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he returned from his grandfather the duke of Guelberland, but was after restored home by the meanes of James Benedict bishop of saint Andrews. About sittene yeares following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred threescore and ninetene, faling in the sixteenth yeare of James the third, this duke was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, out of which he hooke and escaped to Dunbar, from whence being well furnished, he sailed into France where he was honorablie receaved, and there maried the daughter and heire of the earle of Bononie, who shortly after dyeng, and the duke per-
ceyng himselfe not to be so well used as he was before, came into England & was by king Edward the fourth louinglie accepted; who granted aid to this duke. Wherevpon he in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fourscore and two, did enter Scotland with a great power & spoiled the countrey, comming (without ante resistance in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fourscore and two, being the two and twentith yeare of James the third) as far as Radfrag, or Ralfrig, where he pitched his campe: which being knowne, he was by mediation of the nobilitie admitted home to his countrey, being further preferred to the earldomes of March and Mar, and proclaimed generall lieutenant of the king; by meanes whereof, he governed the whole realme, the king being now in prison. After which, this duke setteth the king at libertie through the perswasions of the quene, without knowlege thereof given to the other of the nobilitie: whereby new turmoiles did arise amongst the people. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fourscore and two, and the thre and twentith yeare of James the third, this duke having intelligence that there was poison prepared to be givien to him in drinke in the kings chamber, whereby he stood in feare of his life, did forsake the court and fled to Dunbar: at that time also the king for his owne saftey, got him unto the castell of Edinburgh: wherevpon the earle of Angus and Bucquaine forsaking the king, toke part with the duke.

After which the duke being summoned as some haue (or being besieged in the castle of Dunbar as other haue) fled into England. But Lesle saith

that he tooke a little boate and so escaped into France, where he was honorablie intertained by Charles king of that realme; and where the Frenchmen for his singularitie in feats of armes, termed him the father of chivalrie; thus wryteth Lesleus. But others (deliuering this matter in other forme) saie that after his flight from Dunbar, he passed into England, gathered power, returned into Scotland, did invade the kingdome, & was put to flight: whereupon growing in disgrace with the king of England, he then fled into France. And then after, the same Lesleus saith: Parisijs dum singulare certamen Au-
relianensis dux cum aliquo equite iniuit altans, particula cuiusdam hastæ trahicatur, breuique post mori-
tur, about the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred eighttie thre. He left two sonnes behind him, John duke of Albani gouernor of Scotland during the minoitie of James the fourth, and one other Alexander, whom he had by his first wife in Scotland the daughter of the earle of Orchadie, whiche Alexander was after bishop of Murrete, and abbat of Scone.

John Steward duke of Albani, sonne to the John duke of
forefaid Alexander duke of Albani, did after the Albani.

death of his father obteine that dukedom, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred eighttie thre: of this man I haue made a more large discourse in the gouernors of Scotland, wherevnto I refer thee; and therfore omit to talke ante further of him in this place.

James Steward (eldest sonne to James the third) being duke of Rothesie, is by some termed James Stew-
ward duke of
Rothesie.

Alexander Steward the second, sonne to James the third, king of Scotland, and brother to James the fourth, was duke of Rothesie: for thus wryteth Lesleus li.8.pag.331. In studium incubuit rex (which was James the fourth then king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred eighttie and nine) sedulò, vt Alexander dux Rothesie & Iohannes comes Marrii sui fratres tenelli adhuc liberali educatione diligentissime imbuuerentur, tantòque sumptu pro ratione patrimonij, quod singulis pater reliqua-
rat satis amplius, magnifice alerentur. He died the fifteenth kalends of Iannarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene at Sterling.

Henrie Steward lord Dernelie the eldest sonne to Mathew Steward earle of Lenox, was brought vp in England, a goodlie and beautifull personage, being to be maried to Marie the quene of Scots, was after his comming into Scotland made earle of Ross, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and five by the same quene, about the thre and twentith yeare of his reigne: shortly after which he was in the Julie following created duke of Albani; and on saturdaie the eight and twentith day of the same moneth before the mariage, proclaimed king by the quenes commandement, at the market crose of Edenborough, being married to the same Marie on the nine and twentith date of the same moneth, in the chappell at Holie rod house, at fve of the clocke in the morning: whiche honor he did not long inioie.

Henrie duke
of Albani.

intole. For in the tenth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and six (that by the malice of some of the nobilitie, and false persuasion of others, he was led to enter into those actions, which in the end were his owne overthrow, and that by such as moued him therunto) he was miserablie slaine in a house within the towne, nere to Kirke a field.

James Ste-
ward duke of
Leneur.

Amies Steward lord of Obignete in France, sonne to John Steward brother to Matthew Steward earle of Leneur, being first by James the sixt of that name made earle of Leneur, was after by the same king made duke of Leneur; who being dead, hasty left a yong sonne behind him, a gentleman of great hope, at this date living, intoleng the title of his father, and called duke of Leneur. Thus hauing set downe all the dukes whch haue beene in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue intoled that title in a forren nation.

Lodowike
Steward
duke of Le-
neur.

That diuers of the Scots haue obtei-
ned the title and honor of dukes in
forren countries.

And it is honorabile to anie man to be advanced unto anie title of honour in his owne countrey, either for desert or fauor; whereof yet parcialtie maie most comonlie be the fortherer: so is it farre more honorabile and remoued from all suspition of undeserved fauor, to be invested with anie title of dignitie for anie cause in a forren countrey; because princes (whose hands are moste opened to enrich their subiects, in whose faithfull hearts their safetie is principally inclosed) do not commonlie without singular desert advance strangers to them by birth in an other nation, & not their native subiects, for that they are people, to whom without an especiall triall anie prince is not to commit anie portion of his kingdome, and much lesse anie part of his person. Wherefore the same being an argument of worthie deserf, either for assured fidelite to the person of such prince, or for the valour of service of the advanced, when anie one is adozned with anie such title of honor, I thinke it not unfit in this place to obfure the glorie of the Scots (who might impute the same to be maliciose done by me) and to omit such of their nation as haue intoled the title of dukes in a forren countrey, especiallie being now in hand with all the dukes of Scotland.

And althoough the number of such dukes be small, as not exceeding the figure of four, and therefore in some mens minds might well enough be passed ouer in silence: yet carrieng a contrarie mind, in that I would not anie waye pertein that they justlie deserve, I will faithfullie set downe what I find recorde touching the same after this maner.

Archibald
Dowglas
duke of Tour-
aine.

Archibald Dowglas was created duke of Touraine in France in this sorte. In the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and thre as some saie, or one thousand four hundred and six as other haue (whereof I maie not determine anie thing by reason I cannot reconcile these defaults of numbers which haue happened through the contrariecie of booke) Charles the seuen of that name king of France, sending ambassadores into Scotland, to renew the old league betweene the two nations of France and Scotland, and to crame aid against the English, there were ambassadores and other noble men sent likewise into France out of Scotland; with whose comming the French king being greatlie comforted, and hoping of god successe against the English by reason of the Scottish aid, he did upon the comming of the Scots to the court

creat this Archibald Dowglas (then erle of Wighton) duke of Touraine. But that honor continued not long with him, for in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and four, at the battell of Berneuil in Perth the English obtained the victorie, and this new duke with his sonne and heire James Dowglas erle of Wighton was amongst others most unfortunatlie slaine.

Archibald earle Dowglas was duke of Touraine, as I gather by the words of Lesleus touching this Archibald sonne, of whom we will speake here after, and then set downe the same words of Lesleus to prove Archibald duke of Touraine, who married the earle of Crawfords daughter, by whom he had issue William earle Dowglas, a child of fourteene yeares old whch succeded him, & one David Dowglas. After whch this Archibald died at Lesselrig in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and nine, being about the third yeare of king James the first.

Archibald
Dowglas
duke of Tour-
aine.

William earle Dowglas a child of fourteene yeares of age succeeded his father in his inheritances, and was after made duke of Touraine of Touraine, who being now earle Dowglas, delivered forth such bnds of vertue, as he lent great hope to all men of his worthinesse and god successe, to his further honor and his countreys benefit. But in the end their expectations were deceaved after that he was made duke of Touraine: for being putt vp in pride with those great honos, he forgot himselfe, and wrought his owne and his countreys harme, whereof we will not now speake; but onelie set downe Lesleus words touching his admittance to the dukedom of Touraine. Gulielmus (whch was this earle Dowglas) Malcolmum Flemingum dominum Cumminald & Alanu Lowder ad Carolum septimum Francorum regem misit, oratu, vt ducatu Toronensi eius patrimonia & dignitates amplificarentur: aequum enim esse contendit, vt quo ducatu Archibaldus Dowglasius (qui pro libertate Francia bello Vernolensi mortem appetiuit) fruebatur & pater illius nuper mortuus potiebatur, idem ad se quoque perueniret. Carolus non inuitus concessit, quo dono quantum illi ad honorem dignitatēmque cumuli, tantum profecto ad superbiā, insolentiamque materiā accessit. Thus much Lesle, placing the same to be done as other autho: also do, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and nine, being about the third yeare of the reigne of James the first of that name king of Scotland. Whch honor he did not long intole, for in the yeare following being the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of the same king James; he was, for that he would neither obie the government of the governoz or chancellor, bidden to a banquet at Edinburgh castle, wheras when he and his brother David were set at dinner, the meat was suddenlie removed, and a buls head presented to the erle of Dowglas, being in those dates a token that he shoulde shortlie be executed. Immediatlie whereupon, the said earle with his brother David, & Malcolm Fleming lord of Cumminald were headeed before the castle gate: so that this great hono seemed to those Scots whch possessed the same, not much unlike to the Heiane horse, or to the hono of the dukedom of Gloucester.

Lesleus, lib. 3.
pag. 292.

James earle of Arrane being made governoz to Marie queene of Scots, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and two (in which being about seuen daies old, she began the first yeare of hir unfortunatue government, which I maie so rightlie terme, because she was after deposid in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and seuen, in the fift and twentieth yeare of hir reigne) was made

This proch
Dowglas
father to this
william to be
duke of Tour-
aine.

made duke of Chatelerault by the French king in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and four, being the twelue yeare of the reigne of the same queene Marie, of whom I haue intreated more liberallie in my discourse of the protectors of Scotland, and therefore meane not to speake anie thing of that here: wherfore leauing these dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters done in Scotland.

This yeare there was a practise by forren persons of great state in Europe, to make some invasion, or at the least some disturbance vpon or amongst such realmes as professed the gospel, and were enimies to the Romane religion, by meanes whereof as it was supposed, manie princes inclining their heads to the popes obedience, embasing his doctrine and resting at his disposition, expected the performance of some actions then to be done by them in the territories of the aduerte part, and in the realmes of such princes, as not onelie opposed themselves against the popes doctrine, but had also drawne their necks from the yoke of his subiectiōn, in matters both of ciuill government and of religion. Amongst which princes, being commonlie termed catholiks, the duke of Guise a person of great account in France, tred nearelie in bloum to the imprisoned queene, and to the young king of Scots, and suppozed with other princes purles, purposed to haue set full foot in Scotland, and to haue obtained the whole disposition and rule of that king and kingdome. But God, in 30 those hands reſteſt the ordering of princes harts, not permitting ſuch determinations to ſort to the purpoſed effect, did for that time ſtratiate the execution thereof.

For whereas the duke of Guise ſhould with martiall power haue invaded, entered and poſſeſſed Scotland, there arode troubles and turmoiles of warres in his owne countrie of France, about the parts of Picardie and Dalphinie, which called him from the diſpatch of that his former deuile, for the ſtateng to apeſe the ſame newiſſure, employing all his gathered forces therunto, and enconſtructing with thofe persons: the rigor of the ſame warres ſo weakened his ſtrength, that he was not able (without ſome new ſuplie of men and monie, which could not be had vpon the ſudden) to produce his former intent to anie effect. But yet, leaſt that the ſame intention might not ſeeme altogether to haue quafled, or that he ſhould be noted to haue made ſhew to enterpize a thing which he neither could nor would prosecute to the bittermoſt; there was ſomewhat by his meanes and furtherance attempted in Scotland, which yet in the end ſell not forth in all respects to anſwer the expected hope of god ſuccesse therin. For partie by the poſtice of the Scots, and partie by the ſupport of the allies and friends to the king, but altogether by the united ſtrength of both ſorts, the Scots rid themſelues of the ſame deuile, and ſince remained ſafe from the danger of the Guise and of his partakers.

After this the earle of Morton, ſometime regent of Scotland, being condemned to die, and readie to ſuffer that execution which was appointed vnto him, ſome persons had conuerſe with him about matters of great importance, on the ſame date wherein he was to ſuffer, which persons ſo conuerſing with him, were John Durie, and master Walter Bancanuell. In which diſcourse betweene the earle and them theſe matters in ſubſtance amongst manie others fell forth, in queſtions propounded by them, and in anſwers made by him in this ſort almoſt word for word, drawne into ſome ſeverall heads and articles, as they were deliuered vnto me.

The examinations and anſwers of the earle of Morton before his death, but after his condemnation.

Firſt he was exhorted by them that he ſhould not be diſcouraged by his ouer ſhew, in conſidering the estate wherunto he had beeſe once caſted in this world; but rather remebering the glorie to come, he ſhould reſolute and be of god conſol. Whereunto he anſwered, that as concerning all the glorie which he had in this world, he reſpected it not, becauſe he was perſuaded that all worldlie honoř is but vaniſh, and the broken reed of Egypt. And as concerning the estate wherunto he was brought, he thanked God for it, and was at that point, that he was rather content to render his life than to liue, becauſe he knew, that as God had apointed the time for his death, ſo had he alſo apointed the manner thereof, ſeing that now was the time, and this was the manner which best pleased his God to take him in, and therefore was content. And as for his life in this world, he cared not for it, in reſpect of that immoraltie, & the everlaſting ioy which he looked for, and thereto he was assured.

Secondlie, being required what was his part of knowledge in the kings death or murther: he anſwered with this attēſtation, that as he ſhould anſwer to his Lord God, ſo he would declare all his knowledge thereto: the ſum wherof was, that after his returne out of England, whither he was banished for Davids ſlaughter, he came out of Whetherbōne to Wetheringham, where the erle Bothwell was born to Bothwell, where the erle Bothwell was the Italian, ſecrētary to the queene, ſlaine in the year 1566. ammuntation of the burgh, at the ſame time, with whom he was commun- cation about the kings murther, but he would not conſent thereto. After which, opening a large diſcourse thereto, laſeng the cauſe, the conuincing, and the ex- ecutiōn of the ſame in great persons now liuing, and conſefing that they underſtood thereto, and durſt not for manis cauſes reueale the ſame, neither to the king nor the kings father the erle of Lenore; he added, how that in the end he was by the law now of late conuited of knowledge and concealing the kings murther, when as he ſhould anſwer to God he had no part or knowledge in that matter. Fur- thermore, ſhewing that after the erle of Bothwell was cleared of that murther by affiſe, that he and ſundrie of the nobilitie ſubſcribed a bond with the erle of Bothwell, that if anie ſhould late the kings murther to his charge, he would affit him to the conuari, and that therefore he ſubſcribed to the queenes mariage with the erle Bothwell as ſundrie other of the nobilitie did, being charged thereto by the queenes owne writing and comande- ment.

Then being required in the name of the living God, that ſeing this murther of the king was one of the moſt filthie acts that euer was done in Scotland, and that the ſecrets thereto haſt not beeſt hereto ſhowne, neither who was the chafe doer therein, or whether the king was then ſtrangled or blowne vp into the aire; that he ſhould declare if he knew anie further ſecret thereto: he anſwered, that as he ſhould make anſwer to God, he knew no moſe ſecrets in that matter than he had alreadie deſclared and heard, by the depoſitions of ſuch as had alreadie ſuffered for it, which depoſitions are yet ex- tant. Againe, being demanded if he knew anie per- fectlie about the king, which were doers of that worke, by whose compaie the king and common- wealth might be hurt: he anſwered that he knew none, neither wold he accuſe anie, &c.

Thirdlie, being examined of the poſioning of the earle of Albuſtis, if he had anie act or part thereto: **R. S.** **be**

The historie of Scotland.

he answered with god attestation, faleng; Let God never be mercifull unto me, if ever I knew anie thing of that matter, or heard of it before it came to my eares by the common brute of the countrey. And being further demanded if he knew that maister John Paouardt brought him anie poison, he replied that he knew no such thing, and that he knew nothing by maister Paouardt but honestie, to which he more added these speeches; Fie, fie, there is ouer-much filthynesse in Scotland alreadie, God forbid that vyle practisynge of poisoning shoulde enter among vs: I would not for all the earledome of Athusle, haue neither ministred poison to him, or caused it to haue beene ministred, yea if there had beene one hundred on my part, and but he alone, I would not haue stirred one heate of his head.

Fourthlie, being demanded if he made anie conspiracie against the earle of Leneur: he answered with like attestation as before, that he never thought in his heart, or once purposed anie conspiracie against the earle of Leneur, neither minded to him anie hure in boode or otherwise. But it greued him that the earle of Leneur knew not the estate of their countrey, nor yet perceiued the danger of the kings person. For being therunto requested by others, sundrie were brought home who were the kings enimes, overthrowers of the kingdome, and enimes to religion; whereby there was apparent danger to his person and the rulme: all which he hoped to haue helped by counsell, when the earle of Leneur familiarite and his shoulde haue beene greater.

Fiftlie, being demanded whether he had anie league or dealing with England for the conuicteng of the king or otherwise, or if he had anie pension of the queene of England for that purpose, he answered in these words: As I shall answer to God under paine of condemnation or saluation, I never had anie dealings with England that wate: there was never one in Scotland or England, neither the queene nor anie in her name, that ever moued anie such thing to me, so indirectlie as to conuict the king into England; it never entred into my hart, I would not for all the realme of England haue put him into England, except that it had beene for his profit and hono, &c. And for the more cleare purgation of my selfe in this matter I will saie, if ever I meant but directlie his wealth, let God never be mercifull unto me; and I shall never aske God mercie for anie thing that entred in my hart against the king: yea there was nothing more that I regarded in this life, than that he shoulde be brought vp in vertue and godlinesse. And I will saie more. If I had beene as carefull to serue God as walke in his feare, as I was to seeke the kings wealth, I had not beene brought to the point I am at this daie. And where they allege I was the queene of Englands pensionarie, as I shall answer to God, I had never pension of the queene of England in all my life. And although they caused the brute to go, that I shoulde haue furnished the queene of Englands soldiours now last upon the borders, I never knew of it. And last of all, where they allege that I shoulde haue bene a great dealer with England, I praise God I never had dealing with them, but for the weale publike of the king, his countrey, and subiects, &c.

Sixtli, being demanded what was his part of the enterpise of the castell of Sterling, he answered, that he knew nothing of it till it was done; but being in Lochlenen, he received advertisement out of the castell of Sterling, and a writing from the king, that he shoulde come shifther. And whereas they said, that he minded to keepe the king in captiuitie there, the truthe was, that he never meant to keepe him in captiuitie there, or in anie other place. But

he understood by the kings owne speaking, that he was as free at that time as ever he was before, or desired to be, for the present: And if he had knowne that his grace shoulde haue gone to anie other place, where greater libertie had bin, he would gladlie haue gone with him.

Seuenthlie, being laid to his charge, that he was a great hinderance of the matters and authoritie of the bishops, &c: when he might haue done much god for the furtherance of Gods glorie & advancement of his gospel, both in the time of his gouernement, and since: his answer was, that concerning the religion and doctrine as then it was preached and professed in Scotland, he alwaies meant well in his hart to it, and acknowledged it to be the verie truth of God; insomuch that rather than anie hurt shoulde haue come unto the religion, he would haue spent his life and gods in the defense, like as now he was contented to die in the constant profession thereof. But indeed as concerning some things in policie of the church, as the state of the bishops, and such like, which were in question betwene him and the church, he did therein according to his knoledge, and folow the opinion which he thought to be best at that time, in consideration of the estate of all things as they were. Howbeit he would not stand in defense of those things which he then did, but yet he would make this protestation, that as he shoulde answer to God, he did nothing in those matters either of contempt, malice, or enuie; but if there were anie things done amiss, it was of ignorance, and for lacke of better knowledge; and if he had knowne better, he would haue done otherwise, being now purposed at the last to haue holpen them so farre as he might.

Eightlie, he was desired in the name of God, not to stand in his owne innocencie, but plainelie to confess his sinnes to Gods glorie, and to thinke, that howsoeuer it be that men haue done in this life, yet God had alwaies before him wherof he might be worshife of this and moare: wherevnto he yelded this spech; Howsoeuer it be that men haue done, I commit them to God and their owne consciences. But I acknowledge indeed, that God hath alwaies done iustlie to me, and not onlie iustlie but mercifullie also, because amongst all the other sinners I confess my selfe to be one of the greatest and filthiest abusers of my boode in the pleasures of the flesh; and also to haue giuen my selfe so ouer-much to the wold, to the pleasures thereof, and to other sinnes, that God might iustlie lye it to my charge, in that I expressed not the fruits of my profelion in my life and conuersation as I ought to haue done, for which I beseech God to be mercifull unto me. And indeed now I acknowledge the great mercie of God in this, that amongst all the benefits which he hath bestowed vpon me, one of the chiefest is, that he hath in this my last trouble giuen me space and leasure to repent me of my sinnes, and to be at a point with God. In which trouble also I haue found farre greater comfort than ever I could find before, because I haue thereby concluded thus with my selfe, that if God shoulde haue spared my life, and delivered me out of this trouble, I shoulde then haue cast away all the cares of the wold, the pleasures of the flesh, the delights of earthlie things, and declared my selfe to serue my God in all kind of quietnesse and simplicitie: And if it shall please God to take me in his trouble, I am concluded also to be content therewith, being alwaies assured of the mercies of God. And for that cause I do now thanke God that I find my selfe at this point, that I am rather content to die than to live; and that I shall not see the miseries to come: for I will assure you

you that I think this to be the most acceptable time that ever God could haue taken me in, because I perceive and see such miseries and confusions to in-sue, that I thanke God that I shall not see them. And you who doe feare God, and liue after me, when you shall see these things, you will wyl to be where I shall be, that is, with him.

Ninethlie, being demanded what he thought of the forme of judgement vied against him, what his opinion therof was, whether he thought anie wrong done unto him or no, ac: he answered, I would be verie loth to finde fault or blame the noble men whiche haue taken themselves vpon their consciencies to condemne me, but I will remit them to God and their owne consciencies; yet I am moued to speake somewhat frélie in this matter whiche is this: I saw such parciall dealing against me, that it hath bene all one to me, if I had bene as innocent as saint Stephan, or that I had bene as gylte as Judas was: for I perceiued there was nothing sought but my life, howsouer things had bene, whiche appear-eth in this, that no exception of anie person whiche was to passe vpon my assle could be admitted: for I required the earle of Argile to purge himselfe of parciall counsell giuen to the pursuer my accuser; he purged himselfe indeed, but I knew the contrarie, that he gaue parciall counsell to him. Likewise the lord of Wanthon, the lord of Serton, and such others, who were knowne to be my enimies, (notwithstanding lawfull exception) were put vpon my quest. In consideration wherof I can not but be persuaded of one thing, whiche it behoueth me to communica-²⁰te vnto you, and it is thus. I perceive it is not my life that they seeke onelie, but they who are authors of my death haue some other purpose in hand, whiche they perceiue will not be done, except I and such other whiche do fauor the god cause, were taken out of the wate: Wherefore I can not but suspect that I haue bene so handled, and that such as hereafter shall be put therunto, may haue a more plaine wate to do their turne or intent: and I prate God that they whiche are to liue behind me see not the practise thereof, but I feare it so. And therefore in respect of this apparant danger of the common cause, I will give my counsell to the king my master, and wyl you in the name of God to heare it to him, the summe wherof is this. I perceive that they whiche haue bene the kings foes and enimies, are brought into credit & count, and they who haue bene the mainteiners of his crowne & god friends, are discredited and mistiked of. And likewise such as are knowne to be papists, and suspected to be enimies to the religion, are ouer familiar and great in credit with his maiestie, whiche surelie can not be without great danger to the religion, and hurt to his selfe. For whiche cause I admonish him in the name of God to beware of them, and to seeke a remedie thereof. And as he hath bene brought vp in the feare of God, and compa-³⁰nye of god men, so to continue therein, and not to go backe, or else he hath done with it for ever. For I tell you what moueth me to speake thus, whiche is, that the state of religion in this countrey appeared never to be in such danger, and that for this cause. I here saie there is a dealing put in practise betweene France and England, and Monsieurs marriage with the queene is like to be feared; if France and England bind togither, and that mariage go forward, you may easilie understand, that the one of them will perlude the other to their religion, &c.

Tenthlie, being required to give his counsell to the earle of Angus, and to shew him what was meetest to be done, seeing presentlie he was in great trouble, he answered: I dare give him no coun-

sell, and I will tell you whiche; to bid him come frélie parolie I dare not, all men may see in what danger he is although he nowe come in: and to counsell him to abyde forth I dare not, for then he shall lose the kings fauour for ever, himselfe and his heritage, friends and all; and therfore the best counsell that I can giue him in this matter is, that he make all meanes possible to purchase the kings fauor againes, and to see if he may haue anie assurane of his life, so that he may serue his God and his king truelie, and submit himselfe, and all that he hath to his maiesties godwill: he hath done nothing yet, but it may be amended. I saie no more, the Lord giue him his spirit to follow that whiche is best.

Eleventhlie being required to declare what was the summe of that admonition, whiche John knokes gaue him before he accepted the regiment, when he came vnto him a little before his departure, he answered: I shall tell you as far as I can remembre. First, he asked of me if I knew anie thing of the kings murder, I answered in ded I knew nothing of it. Then he said vnto me, Well God hath beautified you with manie benefits whiche he hath not giuen to erye man, for he hath giuen to you riches, wile, done and friends, and now he is to prefer you to the gouvernement of this realme: and therfore in the name of God I charge you, to use these benefits a-right, and better in time to come than you haue done in times past; first to Gods glorie, to the fur-²⁰rance of the gospel, to the mainteinance of the church of God & of his ministers, next for the weale of the king, his realme and true subiects; whiche if you shall not do, God shall spoile you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominie & shame. Then being inquired if he said true or no, he answered: I haue found it true, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be mercifull vnto me.

Twelftie, being demanded for what cause he held some of the neighbours of Edinburgh in ward, he answered: Surelie I meant no euill to those men, but it was done in this respect: we had the matter of Bulzoune then in hand, and I was informed that they were hinderers therof, for whiche cause I thought it best at that time to put them in ward for a while vntill the turne had bene done. And if I did them anie wrong, I crame forgiuenesse of them as I forgiue all men.

Thirteenthlie, being required to declare if he knew before hand that he shold be accused of this matter or no, he answered: I was aduertised in ded, and might haue escaped, but I would not, tru-³⁰sting alwaite into mine innocencie, and therfore supposed that they wold not condemne me vpon such a thing. After this, the said earle with the soe-⁴⁰ld John Durie and Walter Balcanquall did togither call to God by earnest prater, whiche being ended the earle said vnto us (meaning the said Durie and Balcanquall who as I gather were the penners of this matter) I thank you hattlie for your comfort whiche you haue offered to me, for now in ded is greatest need of comfort, and therfore as you haue begun, I prate you to continue with me: for now that I am come to the knowledge of mine owne sinnes, here resteth onlie two things whiche I crame of you, that is first that you will shew vnto me some kind of argument, wherby I may be comforted agaist naturall death, because the flesh is fearefull and weake; whose desire we travelled to satissie by long conseruacion, whiche is to long to reherse in one-⁵⁰rie point, yet the summe of that was thus. It was saide vnto him that there were three things chéfelle whiche might make him assured of the mercie of God in Chaff: first the innumerable and comfortable promises of God contained in his word, wherunto

it behoued him alwaies to leane. Seconde the example of Gods mercie practised towards his owne servants, albeit they haue beene great sinners; as appeared in David, Nag^r alen, Peter, and the thre, &c. Thirdly the often experiance of Gods mercies from time to time, whiche he had found in his owne person, being a light to assure him of his mercie. In the end he answered to this, sateng: I know it to be true, for since I past to Dunbarton I haue read the ffe booke of Moses, Josue, the Judges, and now I am in Hammell, and will tell you what I haue founid shere. I see that the mercie of God is wonderfull, and alwaies inclined to haue pittie vpon his owne people: for there it appeareth that although he punished them so ofte as they sinned, yet as soone as they turned againe to him, he was mercifull vnto them, and when they sinned againe he punished them, and as ofte as they repented he was mercifull againe, and therefore I am assured, that albeit that I haue offended against my God, yet he will be mercifull vnto me. Also further in this point it was said vnto him, that in case satthan shold travell to discourage him in consideration of the iustice of God on the one part, and of his sinnes on the other part, we exhorted him to the contrarie, to be of god courage, and that in respect of the verie selue same iustice of God, whiche will not suffer him twise to take payment for one thing, as we know in the common dealing of men: for he that is a lust man will not twise demand payment of that wherof he was alredie paid, for alth^r Christ died for our sinnes, and paid the vttermost farthing that God could craue, he cannot lade our sinnes vnto our charge being satisfied in Christ, because his iustice will not suffer him twise to take payment for one thing. Unto this the earle answered. Truelie it is verie god.

And concerning the naturall feare of death, he exhorted him to be alwaies exercised in the consideration of the glorie, ioye, and felicitie of the life to come, whiche wold be the onlie waie to swalow vp the feare of this naturall death. Whereunto he answered, I praise God I do so. This being thus done, and he hauing in his hand a pretie treatise of the meditation of death, written by Bradford (whiche he said that he had gotten from the ladie Dmeston before he went into ward, and for that cause before he came forth of prison againe gave it to maister Lawson, desiring him to deliuer it to the said ladie againe) he willed maister Walter to read him a peice thereof, whiche he did. In which reading (hauing funde confidences vpon the thing read) both he and we found great comfort, in so much that he said; I protest now that I hear with other eares than I did before. Wherewith being called to heare fast, he earnestlie desired vs to take part with him (as we did) at what time he eat his meat with great cherefulnesse, as all the companie saw, and as appeared by these his words: I see there is great difference (said he) betwene a man whiche is troubled with the cares of the world, and him whiche is free from them, the whiche I haue found by these two former nights: for before mine accusation, I could not in things thonante rest by reason of cares whiche I had, because I was to be accused vpon the morrow; and therefore being carefull to answer euerie point that shold be laid vnto my charge I could not sleepe: but this night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I shold die, I was at a point with my selfe, and had nothing of this world, nor care of this life, but cast my onelie care vpon God, and I praise God I never slept better in my life then I did this night. Then he said vnto the steward, William you can bear me record of this; who answereid, It is true my lord. Then maister Walter said vnto him, My lord I will drinke to you

Upon a condition, upon this condition my lord, that you and I shall drinke together in the kingdome of heauen, of that immortall drinke which shall never suffer vs to thirst againe. Whereto the earle answered, Truelie I will pledge you master Walter on the same condition. After which he said, John Durie, now John I will drinke to you upon the same condition. This thus ended for that time; and thanks being given to God, the earle passed againe to his chamber, at what time master James Laweson came to him, with whom he considered the substance of all other things againe. After this we departed from him.

Then at afternone we came to him againe, with
sundrie of the brethen of the ministerie, as master
James Lawson, master Robert Point, David
Fargason, master David Hensa, John Brand,
master James Garncottell, and master John Dan-
son, whom the earle received verie louinglie in his
arms, and said to him: Master John you wrote a lit-
tle booke in daed, but trule I meant never euill to-
wards you in my mind, forgiue me, and I forgiue
you: upon which words master John was moued
with teares. Then all the brethen being present, the
earle reported againe the cheste substance of all the
things whereof before he spake, being demanded
thereof point by point, as their testification of this
matter subscribed by them at more length will de-
clare. After whiche the earle was called to his dinner
about two of the clocke in the after none, who being
thus at his dinner, the brethen of the ministerie
were informed that there was trulst report made of
his professioun to the king, & that he shold haue con-
fessed much otherwaise than he did, whereby the king
migh haue a worse opinion of him. Therefore they
thought god to send downe some before his lustering
to informe his maiestie of the truth of his confessi-
on: whiche persons so sent were David Fargason,
John Durie, and John Brand, who before his death
did largelie tell the simple truthe of his confession (as
it was made) vnto the kings maiestie. At their re-
turning the earles keper required him that he wold
come forth to the scaffold, wherunto the earle an-
swered; Soth they haue thus troubled me ouermuch
this daie with woldie things, I supposed that they
shold haue gauen me one nights leisure to haue ad-
vised my selfe with my God. Then the keper said,
All things are redie nowt my lord, and I thinke they
will not stale. The earle replied, I am redie also I
praise God: and so comfortable paxter being made,
the earle passed dofone to the gate, minding to go di-
rearie to the scaffold; but the earle of Arrane staled
him, brought him backe againe to the chamber, and
willed him to stale vntill his confession shold be put
in writing & subscribed with his owne hand. Where-
unto the ministers whiche were present answered,
and the earle also answere: Hale my lord, I praise
you trouble me no more with these things, for now I
have another thing to muse vpon, whiche is to prepare
me for my God. And sith I am at a point to go to
my death, I can not write in the estate wherein I
now am; and all these honest men can tellise that
I haue spoken in that matter. With which answer
the earle of Arrane being satisfied, he said to him,
My lord you wold be reconciled with me, for I haue
done nothing vpon anyt particular quarell against
you. The earle of Morton replied, It is no time
now to remember quarels, I haue no quarell to you
nor to anyt other, I forgiue you and all others as I
wold you forgiue me. And so after with a god cour-
age he passed to the scaffold, who being vpon the
scaffold, repeated in few words the substance of the
things before confessed, & adding some exhortation
to the people whiche he spake not before, in this sort.

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2, with master David Brand, David in his life a little to longius novoued, the all the rained of this will des dinner being istorie made of the con-
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Sure I am the king shall lose a god servant this
daye, and so he exhorted the people, saying: I testifie
before God, that as I professe the gospel which this
daye is taught & professed in Scotland; so also now
I willingly laye downe my life in the persecution
thereof. And albeit I have not walked according
therunto as I ought, yet I am assured that God
will be mercifull unto me; and I charge you all in
God which are professors of the gospel, that you con-
tinue the true professing and maintaining thereof to
your power, as I would have done God willing
with my life, lands, and goods as long as I had li-
ued: whiche if you do, I assure you God shall be
mercifull unto you; but if you do it not, be sure the
vengeance of God shall fall vpon you, both in bodie
and soule. As concerning all the rest of the words
whiche he had vpon the scaffold, he spake them in ef-
fect and more ample before. When all these spea-
ches were ended vpon the scaffold, a comfortable
prayer was made by master John Lawson, during
the time of whiche prayer, the erle Morton laye grou-
ing vpon his face before the place of execution, his
bodie making great reboundings with lighes and
sobs, being evident signes of the inward and migh-
tie working of the spirit of God, as all they whiche
were present, and knew what it was to be earnestly
moued in prayer, might easilie perceue.

The pazer being ended, and sundrie comming to him before his death, he did most louinglie receive them; who after he had taken vs all by the hand that were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord, he passed both constantlie, patientlie, and humblelie (without feare of death) to the place of execution, and laid his necke vnder the are being vnbound. And there maister Walter putting him alwaies in mind to call upon God; the earle continuallie cried vntill his head was striken off, Lord Jesu receive my spirit, Lord Jesu receive my spirit: whiche words he spake even while the are fell on his necke. Now whatsoeuer he had bæne before, he constantlie died the servant of God. And howsoeuer it be that his soes alleged, that as he laved prouudie, so he died prouudie; the charitable servants of God could perceve nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in his death: insomuch that we are assured, that his soule is received into the soies and glories of the heauens; and we paze God, that they whiche are behinde, make learne by his example to die in the true feare of God our Lord. Thus far the confession & death of the earle Morton, penned by such of the presbyterie as were present therat.

In a parlement holden in Edinburgh the eight
e twentith of Januarie, in this yeare one thousand
fie hundred fourscore and one, being the fourteenth
of the kings reigne, were matters established, tow-
ching the ecclesiasticall governement, whereof I
meane not falle to set downe the same, sith my pen-
e purpose is bent to treat of politicall and not spiri-
tuall causes. Wherefore onelie determining but
slenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, set
forth in print at Cambridge, vnder the name of
Thomas Thomas, printer for that universitie, in
this yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred four-
score and six, we saie that the same booke, published
by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confession of
the true christian faith and religion, according to
Gods word and our acts of parlement subscribed by
the kings maiestie and his household, with diverse o-
thers, &c.) bath further, after the preface thereof this
title given unto it. The estates of Scotland with the
inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Iesus &
his holie Gospell, to their naturall countreien and
to all other realmes & nations, professing the same
Iesus Christ with them, with grace, mercie, and

peace from God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous judgement of salvation.

After which title and salutation, the substance of the same booke, being declared in the sythead of the chapters following, conteyneth these heads: First of God, then of the creation of man, next of original sinne, fourthly of the revelation of the promise of the continuance, increase, and preservation of the church, of the incarnation of Christ Jesus, wherby it becommeth the mediatour to be verte God and man, of election, of Christes death, passion, and burthall, of his resurrection, of his ascension, of faith in the Holie-ghost, of the cause of good works, what works are reynyd god before God, of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of man, of the church, of the immortallitie of soules, of the notes by whiche the true church is discerned from the false, and who shall be judge of the doctrine, of the authoritie of the scriptures, of generall counsels, of their power, authoritie & cause of their conuention, of the sacraments, of the right administration of the sacraments, to whome sacraments apperteine, of the chinni magistrat, and of the gifts frelie givene to the church, &c.

Item, of all which matters, being in that

The discourse of all that matters, being in that
booke largelie and indutlicallie handled, both for the
declaration of the faith of those people, and for the
further instruction of others, were shottlie after the
agreement therewto in that parliament confirmed
by the king, and commanded to be published and to
sed through his realme, as appeareth by this his sole
lowing precept concerning the same.

The kings maiesties charge to all
commissioners and ministers
within his realme.

Seeing that we and our household have
subscribed & given this publike confessi-
on of our faith, to the god example of
our subiects, we command and charge
all commisioners and ministers to craue the same
confession of their parishioners, and to procede a-
gainst the refusers according to our lawes, and or-
der of the church; delinering their names and law-
full procede to the ministers of our house, with all
haste and diligence, vnder the paine of forfeit pounds
to be taken from their stipend: that we with the ad-
vice of our councell may take order with such prouid
contemners of God, and our lawes. Subscribed
with our hand at Holierod house one thousand five
hundred four score and one, the second daye of
March, the fourteenth yere of our reigne.

Religion thus settled in Scotland, it fell herevpon
that Amies duke of Lenour, to which hono he was
not long before advanced, as is alreadie set downe
in the yeare of Chist one thousand five hundred
three score and nineeteen, was now in this yeare vp
on displeasure, conceiued against him by others of
the nobilitie, banished Scotland, and inforced to re-
turne into France, thereto to passe the rest of his life
as he had done before. In whose erlie was per-
med an old prophesie, which I haue heard, that a nage
of five shillings should beare all the dukes of Eng-
land and Scotland. For when this duke was out of
the Scottishe kingdome, there was neither duke in
that countrie o^r England. But as I greatlie fau-
not these things, so yet finding manie of them to
sort to unhappy successe; I cannot al togither con-
demne them, especiallie sith I find two other whiche
concerning the last duke of England, bring the
duke of Somerset, did prognosticat both the ad-
vancement of religion by him, and that he shoul-

Declaration
the Scottish
published
and confirmed
the king.

1582
The duke of
Lennox has
mildly.

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not long kepe his head on his shoublers, after that he began to make his flatelis boldings. Of which propheticall veres declaring the same, the first was,

Cessabit missa cum regnat aqua marina.

The other propheticall mentioning his name of how was in this sort, as also the time of his fall;

Aestatis sedes cum scandis ad alta per ades,
Pro certo cedes quod caput perdere debes.

And to prove that **Summer-set** was manie veres passalked in Latine Aestatis sedes, I find this matter in Roger Wall, sometime an herald living in the time of **Henry the fift**, who named him according lie, when he said author extenuing himselfe of all eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudenesse, sent his booke to **D. John Summer-set** to correct; which doctor being the kings scholmaister and physician, a great learned man well learned in the mathematikes, one that had written much therin, and verie eloquent also, was (as this Roger Wall thought) most meet to have the oueright of his works: which matter is set doone in the latter end of the same booke of the acts of **Henry the fift**.

Vecors, incula, pauper & pannosa pagina, video
quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam ex-
pauescens patefaci: ad hoc immensæ verecundæ
terrore ducta in ustralibus latebris, & abditis deser-
tis, & inuis latitare decreuisti, fortassis tamen, si
quenquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire,
pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam re-
formare dignaretur, iudicatura fores animositatis spi-
ritum processura in luceem. Eia igitur consiliis meis
adquisisci non deseras: & meis monitis edocta,
doctorem gloriosum inuenies, qui Aestatis sedes
gloriosum cognomē fortius est, &c. Supplica igitur
pauperima pagina pauperibus illis, ut tibi Aestatis
sedem velint ostendere, &c. After which this
Wall setteth downe the supplication, which his booke
should dedicat to this doctor (then he hath found
him) in these veres, beginning also with the same
name of Aestatis sedes, in English **Summer-set**:

Fertis Aestatis florida sedes,
Morum multiplici luce regida gnes,
Gloria doctorum genam scientum,
Eloq' pelagus, iux medicina,
Pectore calicis calica candens,
Paradise alys lumine mentis,
Cui patet astrorum candida turba,
Et motus primi mobilis orbis,
Nec later eiusdem mira rapina,
Quid flammis omnis ignis in orbe,
Aerique sinus abdita noshi? &c.

Thus having expressed the words and veres of Roger Wall, which in Latine termed some hundred years passed (as you haue heard before) the name of **Summer-set** by the words of Aestatis sedes, I haue fruite haue the willinger to set downe the same by wavs of digression (besides the former declared causes which moued me therewerto) for that I would not suffer so woythie a man as that **John Summer-set** was to be buried in obliuion.

But leaning our Englishmen, let vs retorne to the affaires of **Scots** and **Scotland**: intreating first of some shing done by them in the low countries, where one **Seward** a **Scot**, hauing had charge of men in some part of the low countries of **Flanders**, **Zeland**, and **Holland**, under **William of Nassau**, earle of **Aurange**, did not fall from the states of that countrey, emploie all his force on the king of Spaines side, and went to assist the prince of **Parma** (the deputie of king **Philip** in those parts) because the states did not paye to him and his soldiours their due stipend and wages for the wars. At that time also the garrison of **Brussels** were for the like cause in an uprose. But some portion of monte

being offered unto them, they were for that time somewhat pacified. All which notwithstanding, one certaine **Scot**, called **Litchfield**, & surnamed **Sempyle**, being captaine of the garrison of **Lire**, and long impaired his saltarie by thos warres, did in batte ^{the sp} manie times demand that monie due unto him. Thereupon, imagining with himselfe how he might deceiue **Litchfield** the governour of the citie, as they ^{arts and} had beguiled him in deterring of his due, he devised

with a new stratagem to bring this towne into the subjection of **Philip** king of Spaine. Wherefore, setting him selfe that he wold in the middest of the night with his people go forth to bring home some great booke for his and the townes benefit, he departed the towne, and late in the night gathered together a great prete of catell, horses, oren, kine, shepe, and such like, with some prisoners of the kings part. All which he brought to the towne gate of **Lire**, and then commanded the gates to be opened unto him, whereby they with their booke might enter all at once. But the porter fearing at such time of night to set the gates full abrode, onelie opened a little wicket or doore, whereby to receive **Sempyle** into the towne. Which thing **Sempyle** then perceiving (e not finding all things to answer his expectation) feind that the enimies were hard at their backs, would kill them all, and recover their booke, unlesse he did speedilie open the great gate, through the same to receive them into the towne all at once. Then the porter believeng all this to be true, so/with set open the great gates of the citie; which done, the **Scot** entered thereat, slue those which kept the watch, possessed the towne, & into the same received the kings soldiours, which were not farre behind, but secretlie late in wait expecting the successe of this devise. By which meanes the **Spaniards** and these followers first wonne the market place, and the next day after the kalends of August reduced the thole towne of **Lire** vnder their owne subjection: the same **Lire** being a place well fensed, and set in such a convenient soile, that it wold prohibit all passage and cariage to come to **Antwerpe**, **Medehelin** and **Brussels**.

In March was renewed a great & old contention betwene the lord **Marwell** earle **Morton** warden of the west marches of **Scotland**, and the lord of **Johnstone**; the occasion of which new dissencion proceeded of an old enmitie begun in the time of **Douglas** earle **Morton** beheaded, as before in the year of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and one, touching the receiving of the same wardeniship. In

which hurye burlie the lord of **Johnstone** behaued himselfe verie rigorously against the lord **Marwell**, in blowing up with gunpowder the locks of the castell of **Lochnaben**. Which intention secretlie after the death of **Douglas** earle **Morton**, continuing betwene the lord **Marwell** and **Johnstone**, with further increase of malice, they in this yere sought a fresh rousenge thereof, wth the lord **Johnstone** had not (before this) either power or meanes to incouerter wth the lord **Marwell**. But now the ladie **Johnstone** (being verie familiar and fauored wth and of **Jaimes Stewart** earle of **Arrane**) obtained of the king some succors of men of warre against the lord **Marwell** earle **Morton**, her husband (as was supposed) not being able otherwise to make his part good against the same earle. Whereupon captaine **Lamie** and captaine **Crane** were sent wth two companies of buckhounds unto the relife of the lord of **Johnstone**. Who being thus furnished, did in the kings name raise the nubilitie and countrey therabout to assist him wth their pawers: which being had, he meant and the before went to have sojourned wth the said two captaines **Lamie** and **Crane**. But as man purposeth, and God disposeseth quite

Robert **Mac-
dowell** bro-
ther to earle
Morton sent
against cap-
taine **Lamie**.

Captaine La-
mie & Crane
slaine over-
thrown.

The castells
Louchouse
and Louch-
wood burnt.

The lord
Johnstone
beheaded.

The lord
Scrope com-
pounded the
contention be-
twene earle
Morton and
the lord **John-
stone**.

The mare
of the sea,
which back-
ward is sea-
mare.
Summer-
seat, or **Sum-
mer-set**.

Roger Wall
submitteth
his worke to
the censure
of **D. John
Summer-set**.

Summer-set.

Surius in comen-
de reb. in orbe,
biflor. pa. 1092.

quite contrary to our determination. So the lard Johnstone was disappointed of that meeting; for the earle Morton (whose heidfull watch was not idle in learning out the deuiles of his enimies, a nedfull policie for all such as intend to bring great actions to effect) having intelligence by some of his friends tendering his safetie, of this determination and preparation of the lard Johnstone, and wistelie (as behoued him) seeing what danger might rise unto him, if their two forces met, which would rise to a greater number than he were able to incounter, and judging it best in the beginning to prouide for mischiefe, and to stop their passage, did prepare to prevent all their deuiles, and for that cause sent his base brother Robert Maxwell capteine of Langholme with some horsemen and footmen vnder the conduct of James Fraiser brother to the lard of Fouldreth, which Robert meeting on Craiford mere with the foynes capteins Lamie and Cranefane, before that they had soyned with the lard Johnstone, 20 gave the charge vpon them, and that so fiercelie as they ouertheir the whole strengthe of his enimies, sive Lamie, toke Cranefane prisoner, and so handled the matter that all the rest were taken or slaine except some few, who foughht their luyes by the benefite of fleng. After which victorie the report thereof came to the lard Johnstone, who desirous to be revengen therof, vied the helpe of other meaneis when he perceued that force wold not preuale. And so for that cause assembling such pouer as he had, he vied the strength of one element against an other, of the highest against the lowest, of the heauen against the earth, of the fire against mettall, and of burning against fighting. For with all sped he hastened to the lands of the earle Morton, which he cruellie spoile, and in the same did burne certeine houles and other places belonging to the earle, as Comers träs, Duncoll, Colwhill, and such like.

Robert Maxwell base brother to earle Morton sent against capteins Lamie.

Capteins Lamie & Cranefane overthrown.

The castells Louches and Louchwood burnt.

The lard Johnstone forced to ffe.

The lard Scrope compounded the contention between earle Morton and the lard Johnstone.

for the lard Johnstone, he was taken betwixen Lin. The lard wall and the Warden ditches (where he was laid in ambulie to haue performed some action against the said Robert Maxwell comming from the towne of Domfries to Laugham from the earle Morton his brother) by William Carrutheris (baron of Holmence and capteine of the kings castell named Craife) being by the earle Morton appointed to incounter with the said lard Johnstone: which this baron was the more willing to do, because he intellec^tioned the earle, and had alwaies from the beginning followed the earles faction.

The king displeased with the earle Morton, that he was scarce able to sustaine the kings displeasure, by reason that the earle attempted these things against the lard Johnstone, when the king had suppor^tted the lard Johnstone with men and weapons.

These things thus performed and the successe ther^e of comming to the kings knowledge, he grew so heauilie displeased with the earle Morton, that he was scarce able to sustaine the kings displeasure, by reason that the earle attempted these things against the lard Johnstone, when the king had suppor^tted the lard Johnstone with men and weapons. But the kings displeasure onlie growing against the earle, was partie for that the earle of Arrane did bitterlie erasperat the cause against him, and partie by the persuasione & lamentation of the ladie of Johnstone, whereto the lass was enimie to the earle, as of dute she ought in respect of her husband, and the first (which was the earle of Arrane) became a bitter and heauie enimie besides all reason against earle Morton, because that Morton refused to exchange the baronies of Poke and Maxwell Heich with Arrane, which most instantlie required the same, in respect they adiected neare vnto other lands which Arrane had procured to himselfe. For although that Arrane would in place of those required lands haue deliuered others of no lesse value and honor (for he would haue given the baronie of Kinnelie for the same) yet Morton had good cause and no lesse reason not to yeild thereto: as well for that Maxwell Heich was his ancient inheritance, and wherof they toke the name of lord Maxwell; as for that, that there were manie of the surname of the Maxwellis, who dwelld upon these lands, wold not become subiect to the earle of Arrane, as they must haue bene if he had departed with those lands; amongst which Maxwellis so refusing to become tenants to Arrane, were John Maxwell lard of Newarke, and William Maxwell lard of Poke.

The earle of Arrane would exchange lands with the earle Morton.

The Maxwellis would not be subiect to the earle of Arrane.

This thus handled, the king assembled a parlement in Spate, wherein were certeine lawes enacted, whiche givyn occasion to some of the nobilitie and clergie to misconceive therof, and to depart the realme, did after minister carle to the king (for the more discharge of his honour, the better explaining of the said lawes, and the manifessing of secret practises against him) to set downe this following declaration thereof to the view of the world. Wher^e in he shewed himselfe of a rare and god disposition, in that he wold humble himselfe beneath the maiestie of his crowne, publike to render a reason to his neighbours and to his subiects of his dealings, towards such as were under his government, whiche he was not bound thereto, being to dispose of those his subiects according to the lawes of his realme and the customes of those countries. But before I set downe that declaration, I shinke it not unmeet to saie somewhat of such things as went before, and were the cause of setting forth of the same declaration. There were some lawes in the same parlement enacted for the reformation of religion, whiche to the king seemed to be grovone ouer dangerous, in seeking a certeine equalitie of government in the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. Upon which law established, the earles of Angus and Mar, with divers others of the tempozaltie and the spiritualitie,

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as Andrew Melville, and such as professed the purer and reformed religion (as it was termed) were in foxed for the use of their conscience and for other causes, to banish themselves from their countries, and to flee into England there to use the libertie of their religion, and to prouide for the safetie of their persons, who comming into this realme, made their abode and sojourned at Norwich. About which time also of their departure out of Scotland, there was a supposed treason discovered by Robert Hamilton unto the king, intended to be practised against his maiestie, whereupon some were summoned vpon suspition, some were apprehended, and some were executed for the same cause. Of the first sort, the lord Blakater and George Douglas were summoned to the court vpon suspition that they were consenting and conceling to and of the same treasons. For the second part touching the same, the lord of Dounthafell, the lord of Dunkirk, the lord of Baithkirk, Robert Hamilton of Inchmahan, and James Sterling, were apprehended at the kings court: besides whiche John Hopingell of the Mozes was taken at his owne house by the capteine of the kings gard, and the lord Reire with the lord Mairis and other gentlemen were taken about Sterling; and lastlie the lord Dounthafell and the lord Mairis were executed, with the lord Ruthwin earle of Gowrie, treasurer of Scotland, who was beheaded in Scotland. Which being thus done, the king as is before said made this following declaration vpon the said acts of parliament, in whiche he sheweth reason and cause why he thought and might both make and execute those lawes, with a further explanation also of the same lawes delivered in that declaration with these words.

The kings maiesties declaration of his
acts confirmed in parliament.

¶ O: as much as there is some euill affected
men that goeth about so farre as in them
to invent lies and tales to slander
and impaire the kings maiesties fame
and honor, & to raise reports as if his maiestie had
declined to papistry, & that he had made manie acts
to abolish the free passage of the gospell, god oder
and discipline in the church: whiche bntes are main-
tained by rebellious subiects, who would gladie co-
uer their seditions enterpises under pretense of reli-
gion (albeit there can be no god religion in such as
raise rebellion to disquiet the state of their native
soveraigne, and perjuredie doth stand against the
dth, bnd, & obligation of their faith, whereunto they
hane subscrifed) therfore that his maiesties faithfull
subiects be not abusid with such slanderous reports,
and his highnes god affectionat friends in other
countries make understand the veritie of his
upright intention, his highnes hath commandido this
brefe declaration of certeine of his maiesties acts
of parliament holden in Mai one thousand ffey hum-
dred four score and four, to be published and im-
printed, to the effect that the indirect practises of such
as slander his maiestie and his lawes mate be de-
tested and discovered.

In the first act his maiestie ratifieth and approveth
the true profession of the gospell, sincere preaching
of the word and administration of the sacraments,
presentie by the godnesse of God established with-
in this realme, and alloweth of the confession of the
faith set downe by act of parliament the first yere of
his maiesties reigne. Likewise his highnesse not
onlie professeith the same in all sincerite, but (praised
be God) is come to that ripenesse of judgement by
reading and hearing the word of God, that his high-

nesse is able to convince and overthrow by the do-
ctrine of the prophets and apostles the most learned
of the contrarie sect. So that (as Plato affirmeth
that common wealth to be counted happy wherein a
philosopher reigneth, or he that reigneth is a philo-
sopher) we mate much more extreme this countrie of
Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our king is a di-
vine, and whose hart is replenished with the know-
ledge of the heauenlie philosophie: for the comfoxe
not onlie of his god subiects and friends in other
countries but of them that professeth the gospell e-
uerie where, he being a king of great wisedome, and
by his birth right boone to great possession; but much
more his highnesse, vertue, godlineesse and learning,
and dailie increase of all heauenlie sciences, doth
promise and assur him of the mighty protection
of God, and fauour of all them that feare his holie
name.

In the second act his maiesties totall authori-
tie over all estates both spirituall and temporall is
confirmed: whiche at some of malice, and some of ig-
norance doth traduce, as if his maiestie pretended
to be called the head of the church, a name whiche his
maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar
to the sonne of God the saviour of the world, who is
the head, and bestoweth life spirituall vpon the mem-
bers of his mysticall bodie, and he having received
the hote spirit in all abundance, maketh euerie one
of the faithfull partakers thereof, according to the
measure of faith bestowed vpon them, of the whiche
number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his
maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member
baptised in his name, partaker of the misterie of the
croisse and hote communion, and attending with the
faithfull for the comming of the Lord and the finall
resurrecion of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his
maiestie surelie understandeth by the scriptures,
that he is the chefe and principall member appoin-
ted by the law of God, to see God glorified, vice pun-
ished and vertue maintained within his realme:

• and the soueraine iudgment of a godlie quietnesse
& order in the common wealth, to aperteine to his
highnesse care and sollicitude. Whiche power and au-
thorite of his highnesse, certeine ministers being
called before his maiestie for their seditions and fac-
tions sermons in stirring vp the people to rebellion
against their native king, by the instigation of sun-
die (unquiet spirits) would in no wise acknowledge
but disclaime his maiesties authorite as an incom-
petent judge: and especiallie one called master An-
drew Melville of a salt and fierie humor, bluerping the
pulpit of Saundis, without anie lawfull calling,
and priuie at that time to certeine conspiracie at-
tempted against his maiestie and crowne, went ab-
out in a sermon vpon a sunday, to inflame the
hartes of the people by odious comparissons of his
maiesties progenitors and councell, albeit the dutie
of a faithfull preacher of the gospell be rather to ex-
hort the people to obedience of their native king, and
not by popular sermons (which hath bene the enter-
on and decaie of great cities and common wealths,
and hath greatlie in times past bned disquietnesse to
the state thereby) to trouble and perturbe the coun-
trie. The said master Andrew being called before his
highnesse, presumptuouslie answereid that he would
not be iudged by the king and councell, because he
had spoken the same in pulpit, whiche pulpit in effect
he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and
correction of princes, as if that holie place sanctified
to the word of God and to the breaking of the bread
of life, might be anie colour to anie sedition in word
or deed, against the lawfull authorite, without pu-
nishment. Alwaies his maiestie (being of himselfe
a most gracious prince) was not willing to have be-
see

sed ante rigor against the said master Andrew, if he had humbly submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offence, and craved pardon: wher notwithstanding afraid of his owne guiltynesse, being prone to divers conspirators before, fled out of the realme, whose naughtie & presumptiones resuling of his highnesse judgement, was the occasion of the making of this second act: that is, that none shoulde decline from his highnesse authoritie, in respect that the common pionerbe heretick *Ex malo moribus legi nata sunt*, 10 which is, that *De euill maners god lawes proced*. And in verite dide it wanteth not ante right intollerable arrogancie in anie subiect called before his princie, professing and authorisung the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie, neither do the prophets, apostles, or others (conducted by the spirit of God) minister the like example: for it is a great error to affirm (as manie do) that princes and magistrats haue onlie power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that ecclesiastical matters do onlie belong to the ministerie.

By which meanes the pope of Rome hath cremped himselfe and his cleargie from all judgment of princes, and he made himselfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man: wheras by the contrarie, not onelie by the example of the godlie governours, judges, and kings of the old testament; but also by the new testament, and the whole historie of the primitive church, in which the emperors being iudges over the bishops of Rome, deposed them from their seats, appointed judges to decide and determine causes ecclesiastical, and challenge innocent men, as Athanasius from the determination of the councell holden at Cirrus, and by infinit god reasons (which shall be set downe by the grace of God in an other severall worke, and shall be sufficienlie proued and verifed). But this apperteath at this present to be an vntimely and unprofitable question, which hath no ground vpon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended iurisdiction of the pope of Rome. For if there were anie question of this land of heretick, whereby the profound mysteries of the scriptures behoued to be searched forth, his maiestie would use the same remedie (as most expedient) which the most godlie emperors haue used: and his maiestie following their example would allow the councell of learned pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie might be opened, and heretie repesed.

But God be thanked, we haue no such contioues in this land, neither hath anie heretie taken ante depee root in the countrie; but that certeine of the ministerie, toyning themselfes to rebels haue trauelled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might imbace anie simuler opinion of his maiesties upright proceedings, and factions might be nourished and intertein'd in the countrie: neither is it his maiesties meaning nor intention in anie sort, to take awaie the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby discipline and god order might decaie; but rather to preserue, increase, and maainteine the same. And as there is in this realme, justices, constables, chyrffes, prouosts, baillies, and other iudges in temporall matters: so his maiestie alloweth that all things might be done in order, and a godlie quietnes may be preserued in the whole estate; the synodall assemblies by the bishops, or commissioners, wher the place was used to be convenient, twise in the yeare, to haue the ordinarie triall of matters belonging to the ministerie and their estate: alwaies referring to his highnesse, that if they, or anie of them do amisse, negle their dutie, disquiet the estate, or offend in anie such maner and sort, that they in no wates pretend ante

communitie, privilege, and crempion, which onelie was inuanted by the popes of Rome, to tread vnde for the scoper of princes, and to establish an ecclesiastical spauissh within this countrie, under pretense of new inuanted prebisterie, wher neither shoulde answer to the king nor bishop under his maiestie: but shoulde haue infinit iurisdiction, as neither the law of God nor man can tollerat; wher is onelie his maiesties intention to represse, and not to take awaie anie godlie or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appere.

The third act of his maiesties foresaid parliament dischargeth all iudgements ecclesiastical, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his maiesties parliament. Which act speciallie concerneth the remouing and discharging of that somme, intented in this land, called the presbyterie: wherin a number of ministers of certeine precincts and bounds, accounting themselfes to be equal, without anie difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen and others of his maiesties subiects, vperse the whole ecclesiastical iurisdiction, & altereth the laws at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge or approbation of the king, or of the estate: a forme of doing without example of anie nation, subiect to a christiian princie. The perill thereof did so increase, that in case it had not bene repesed in due season, & forbidden by his maiesties laws, the same had troubled the whole countrie: and being tried by his highnesse to be the ouerthow of his maiesties estate, the decaie of his crowne, and a readie introduction to Anabaptistrie, and popular confusion in all estates; his maiestie hath gien commandement against the same. And that the reader may kno w the danger thereof by manie inconueniences, wherby iuictus in this land, I will onelie set downe one, whereby they may understand what perill was in the rest.

The ambassador of France, returning home in to his countrie, commanded the prouosts, baillies, and constable of Edinburgh to make him a banquet, that he might be received honorabile according to the amittie of ancient times betwene the two nations. This commandement was gien on the saturdaye by his highnesse, and the banquet appointed to be on the mondaie. A number of the foresaid pretended presbyterie vnderstanding thereof, assembled themselfes on the sundaye in the morning, and presumptoulesse determined & agreed, that the ministers of Edinburgh shoulde proclaim a fasting vpon the same mondaie; wher their severall ministers one after another made thare severall sermons, and invocaties against the prouosts, baillies, and councell for the time, and the noble men in the countrie, who repared to the banquet at his maiesties command. The foresaid presbyterie called and perswaded them, and scarlely by his maiesties authoritie could be withholden from excommunicating the magistrats and noble men, for obrieng onelie his highnesse lawfull command; wher the law of all countries called *Ius gentium*, requires towards ambassadors of forren countries. And not onelie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was proclaimed directlie, vnder the paine of excommunication to the kings maiestie and his lawes.

Wherof proceeding engendered nothing but disquietnesse, sedition, and trouble: as may manifestlie appere, in that the especiall authors of the inventing, promoting, and aduising of the foresaid pretended presbyterie, hath toyned themselfes with his maiesties rebels; and stieng forth of the realme, in respect of their guiltynesse, hath discouered what malitious practises was devised amongst them, if God had not in time prouided remedie.

The

The other forme of judgement, which his maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assemble of the whole cleargie in the realme: under pretense whereof a number of ministers from sundrie presbyteries did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrie; whereof, some for that tyme (malcontentis of the state) sought that colour as fauorers of the ministerie, by the which they have prouised many enterpryses in the realme; where there was no certeine lawe in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the said generall convention, where the lawes of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which for the most part succeded vnto the most unlearned of the multitude.

* which is one
of the estates
of parliament.

This generall assemble amongst other things, did appoint and agree with his maiesties regents in his minorie, that the estate of bishops should be maintained and authorized, as is registered in the booke of councell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the tyme. Whiche order was obserued manie yeares, and bishops by their consents appointed to their diocesse, vntill within this late tyme, in assemblies holden at Dundee, and Glasgow, respecting the foresaid ministers and assemblies, toke vpon them contrarie to their owne handwritting, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull in their pretended manner. And there commanded the bishops of the countrie, to demitt and leave their offices and jurisdictions, and that in no wise they shold passe to the kings councell or parliament, without commission obtained from their assemble: that they shold confirme nothing in parliament and councell, but according to their acts and intencions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the kings maiestie, commanding him and the councell vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they understood excommunication) to appoint no bishop in tyme to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that which they wold haue detected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselves, desiring that such commissioners as they shold send to parliament and councell, might be authorized in place of the estate: whereby it shold haue come to passe, that whereas now his maiestie may selec the most godlie, learned, wise, and experientiall of the ministerie, to be on his maiesties estate, his highnesse shold haue bene by that meane compelled to accept such as the multitude, by an od consent of the most unlearned, shold haue appointed, which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme.

After they had discharged bishops, they agreed to haue superintendents, commissioners, and visitors: but in the end they decerned that there shold be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before. Neither was there anie other apparence that they shold haue staied from such vassall alterations in the common wealth, which could not but continuallie be disquieted, where the lawe of conscience, which they maintained by the sword of cursing, was subiect to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatlie tasten of learning. At once the foresaid assemble was accustomed, not onelie to prescribe the lawe to the king and estate, but also did at certeine times appoint generall fastings throughtout the realme; especiallie, when some factour in the countrie was to move anie great enterprize. For at the fast, all the ministers were commanded by the assemble to sing one song, and to cri out vpon the abusis (as they termed it) of the court and estate for the tyme: whereby is most certeine great alter-

rations to haue infuied in this land; while at the god pleasure of God, and his blessing towards his maiestie, the pretense of the last fast was discovered, and his highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his maiestie hath bene fullie moved to discharge such conuentions, which might import to prejudicallie to his estate.

But especiallie his maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemble being met at Edinburg, did authorise and auide the fact perpetrate at Ruthwen, in the taking of his highnesse most noble person. The whiche deed notwithstanding, with the aduise of his estates in parliament accounted to be treason; the said assemble esteeming their judgement to be the soueraine judgement of the realme, hath not onlie approued the same, but also ordeined all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the acts of this assemble, and the lawes of the estate directed, were in ciuil matter, with the whiche the assemble shold not haue medled, it behoued his highnesse either to discharge himselfe of the crotone, or the ministerie of the forme of the assemble, whiche in dede of it selfe, without the kings maiesties licence & approbation, could not be lawfull, like as generall councells at no tyme could assemble, without the commandement of the emperour for the tyme. And our king hath no lesse power within his owne realme than anie of them had in the emprise. See the bishop of S. Andrewes had not in tyme of poperie, power to conuent the bishops and clergie out of their owne diocesse, without licence given before by his highnesse most noble progenitors of god memorie, and the causes therof intimate and allowed.

Notwithstanding that his maiesties intention and meaning maiestie fullie be understood, it is his highnesse will, that the bishop or commissioners of anie diocesse or prouince, or part thereof, shall at their visitation appoint in euerie parish, according to the greatnesse thereof, some honest, vertuous, and discret men, to aid and assit the minister, and to haue the oversight and censure of the maners and behavor of the people of that parish. And if there be anie notable offende, woorthe of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assitant for the punishment of vice and executions to follow therepon: that they who contemne the godlie and lawfull order of the church, maiestie find by experience his maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their deseruings. And further, his maiestie vpon necessarie occasions which shall fall forth, by divers makers of waies amongst the clergie, vpon humble supplication made to his highnesse, will not refuse to grant them licence to assit the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned and godlie of their diocesse, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as apperteine to the uniformitie of doctrine and conuersation of a godlie order in the church, maiestie be intreated and concluded in his maiesties owne presence, or some of his honorable councell, who shall assit for the tyme: where it necessarie so require, a publicke fast throughtout the whole realme maiestie be commanded, and by his maiesties authoritie proclaimed, to avide the imminent displeasure and danger of the wrath of the Lords iudgements, which is the right end of publike humilitie, and not vnder pretense thereof to cover such enterpryses, as haue heretofore disquieted and troubled the peace of this common wealth.

The twentieth act ratifieth and approveth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the oversight and jurisdiction, exercize one in their owne diocesse: whiche forme of gouernement, and

and rule in ecclesiasticall affaires, hath not onlie continued in the church from the daies of the apostles, by continual succession of time, and manie martyrs in that calling shed their blood for the truth: but also in this realme imbraced and received the christian religion, the same estate hath bene maintained, to the welfare of the church, and quietnes of the realme without anie interruption, untill within these few yeares, some curios and basie men have practised to induce into the ministerie an equalitie in all things, aswell concerning the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and policie. The which confusion his maiestie finding by most dangerous experience, to have bene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme, hath with advise of his highnes estates, advisedlie concluded, the said pretended partie in discipline, orders and policie in the church, to be no longer to be tolerated in his countre, but the solicitude & care of all churches in one diocesse to apperteine to the bishop and commissioners therof, who shall be answerable to God, and his maiestie, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the bounds of his jurisdiction. For as it becometh his maiestie, as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the great, to be a bishop of bishops, and universall bishop within his realme, in so far as his maiestie shalld appoint euerie one to discharge his dutie: whiche his highnes cannot, his countre being large and great, take him to euerie minister that shall offend and transgresse against dutie, or quarell with the whole number of the ministerie: but it behoueth his maiestie to have bishops & overseers under him whiche may be answerable for such bounds, as the law and order of the countre hath limited and appointed to euerie one of them. And that they having access to his maiesties parliament and councell, may intercede for the rest of the bretheren of the ministerie, propone their grete unto his highnes and estates, and receive his maiesties fauorable answere thereto. The which forme doth preserve a godlie quietnesse, unitie, concord and peace in the estate, and one unforme order in the church. As contrariwise, the pretended equalitie divideth the same, and under the pretence of equalitie maketh the same of the most craftie and subtle dealers to be advanced and enriched: and in pretenting of partie, to seeke nothing but their owne ambition and advancement aboue the rest of the simple soz.

And notwithstanding that his maiestie hath re-established the said estate, it is not his highnes will and intent, that the foresaid bishop shall haue such full power as to do within his diocesse what he pleaseth. For his maiestie cannot allow of anie popular confusion, whereto (as the proverbe saith) Nulla tyrannus aequalanda est tyrannidi multitudinis, that is: No tyraunce can be compared to the tyraunce of a multitude: haing commandement and power in his hands: so on the other part his maiesties will is, that the bishops authoritie in anie grave matter, be limited to the couness of churche of the most sufficient wise, and godlie persons of his diocesse, selected out of the whole synodall assemblee of the province: by whose advise, or at the least the most part thereof, the weightie affaires of the church may be gourned to the glorie of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further it is his highnes will and commandement, that their bishops and commissioners haue in the yeaer, to wit, ten daies after Easter, and the first of September, hold their synodall assemblees in euerie diocesse, for the keeping of god orders the rea: and if anie be stubborn, or contumie within their

bounds the god order of the church, that it may be declared unto his maiestie, and punished to the example of others, according to their deservings. Ne-
ther is it his maiesties meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners as shall be appointed, shall receive their onlie and full commission of his maiestie without admision ordinarie, by such as are ap-
pointed to that effect in the church: but haing his highnes nomination, presentation, and commen-
dation as lawfull and onlie patron, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as they are able to discharge their cure and office. And if it shall happen anie of the said bishops or commis-
sioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slande-
rous or offensive in their behauor, life, and maners, in time to come, it is not his highnes will, that they shall be exempted from correction, notwithstanding anie privilege of his highnes estate, councell or par-
lement: but their labors, travells, diligence and behau-
ors, to be tried in the generall assemble, not con-
sisting of a confusid multitude, as it was before; but of such worshipfull persons as is heretofore prescri-
bed in his highnes presence, or his deputies to that effect.

Lastlie his maiestie giueth commission to the said bishops or commissioners at their visitations, to consider in what part of the countre, the enterprise, or interpretation of the scripture, by conference of a certeine number of the ministerie within those bounds, may be most commodouslie once in euerie fiftene daies. For as his maiestie inhibits all unlawfull meetings, that may engender trouble and contention in the countre: so his maiestie is well affected to see the ministerie increase in knowledge and understanding, and by all meanes to forstie and aduance the same. Wherein his highnes com-
mandement is, that a graue, wise, and sage man shall be appointed president, who may haue the oversight of these bounds, and be answerable thereto to the bi-
shop, his councell and synod; and he to be respected reasonable for his paines, at the modifcation of si-
pends: that all things may be orderlie done in the church, peace & quietnesse maintained in the realme, and we delivered from apparant plagues, and the blessings of God continued to the comfort of our po-
pulrie. And in the meane time his highnes inhib-
its & expellit forbids under the paines contained in his maiesties acts of parliament, & all other pains arbitratle at his maiesties sight & councell, that no minister take in hand to assemble themselves for the foresaid cause, without the appointment and order taken by the said bishops or commissioners, whereby his highnes may be certeinlie informed, that the foresaid ministers assemble not to meddle with anie clauill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accus-
med before; but onlie to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spirituall office: whiche his highnes wilth them faithfully to discharge, and then to call to God, that his maiestie may in a pro-
sperous reigne emtire god and long life, and con-
tinue, and increase in the feare of the almighty.

Besides which, the king at the end of this his in-
tentio[n], did further artigulate his intention into
ludicre heads as here followeth.

The kings intention drawne into
certeine articles, and published

in print.

Is maiesties intention is, by the grace
of God, to mainteine the true and sin-
cere profession of the gospell, and pre-
aching thereto within his realme.

S. J.

2 His

The historie of Scotland.

2 His maiesties intention is, to correct and purifie such as seditionis abuse the truth, and factiouslie aplie or rather bewraye the text of the scripture to the disquieting of the state and disturbing of the commonwealthe, or imparting of his highnesse and counsels honour.

3 His maiesties intention is, if anie question of faith and doctrine arise, to convocate the most learned, godlie, wisse, and experientiall pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie may be tried, and all heresie and schisme by that means expressed. 10

4 His maiesties intention is, that for the keeping of god order in euerie paroch, certeine overseers to the god behavour of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the bishop or visitour, who shall haue his maiesties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the punishment of vice.

5 His maiesties intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophesie for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministerie: in whiche a wisse and a graue man selected by the bishop or commisioner at the synodall assemblie, shall render account of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden, for whiche cause some respect of living shall be had unto him, who susteins that burthen.

6 His maiesties intention is, not to derogate from the ordinarie judgement of matters of the church by the ordinarie bishops, their counsels and synods: but if anie of them do amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending and punishing thereof.

7 His maiesties intention is, not to hinder or staine anie godlie or solid order, grounded vpon the word of God, and order of the primitive church, but that the ministeres of the word meddle themselues onelie with their owne calling, and judge not seafullie of the estate.

8 It is his maiesties intention, that the presbyteries consisting of manie ministers and gentlemen, at Landwar or otherwales, be not further tollerat in his realme: but the exercise of iurisdiction of all churches to be in the hand of the bishop or commisioner, and their counsels and synods.

9 It is his maiesties intention, that the bishops or commisioners assemblie not ante generall assemblie out of the whole realme, without his maiesties knowledge and licence obtained therevnto: whiche upon supplication his highnesse will not denie, that an uniforme order may be obserued in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of euerie particular heard and discussed.

10 It is his maiesties intention to assit this assemblie himselfe, or by a noble man of his councell, his highnesse deputie.

11 It is his maiesties intention, that when anie paroch shendeth necessarie of anie fast, they informe the occasion to the bishop or commisioner and their councell, that they may understand the cause to be lawfull; as likewise the bishop of the diocesse finding lawfull occasion, may within the same, with his councell preface anie publike humilliation.

12 It is his maiesties intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realme, shall not be proclaimed but by his maiesties commandement, or by a generall councell, wherin his maiestie or his highnesse deputie is present.

13 It is his highnesse intention, that the bishops in the realme in euerie diocesse with their councell proceed into the ecclesiasticall governement, but as is said with a councell, that both tyranie and confusion may be avoided in the church.

14 It is his maiesties intention, that communi-

oners be directed bnsuersallie throughout the whole realme, to establish a godlie order, and that his maiesties commisioners take order presentlie for the translation of such ministeres, whose travells they e. streme may more convenientlie and profitable serue in an other place.

The rul
parlement

Lesleus.

15

These things was the king faine to publish, to staine the euill report of such as went about to touch him for the breach of the christian order in religion, whiche being nothing but that whiche seemeth answerable to naturall sense & princelie maiestie, shoud neither by malice haue moued, nor for colour of religion procured anie beyond the warrant of the word of God, or the dutie of naturall allegiance to resist the kinglie ordinance, or to lift vp their sword or word against him, who being a god in earth, presenteth the maiestie of the God of heauen. But leauing the discourse of these things to preachers, to whome it belongeth to instrue vs in our dutie to God, to our prince, & to our neighbours, we will turne againe to the other following occurrents of Scotland. And yet before we speake anie thing of those matters, sith I haue in this place as well as in manie other spoken of parlements & acts of parlement, I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat collected out of authoress touching their manner and order of parlement, and that the rather because the same confiseth of thre estates, and the princes confirmation as our parlement doth, from whence it seemeth to me that they haue set their light. Touching whiche, Lesleus in his Scotish historie lib. 1. pag. 75. under the title of Leges Scotorum, wryteth in this sort. Qui vero seculi negotijs sese implicantes in ecclesiasticorum album non referuntur legibus, quas reges descripserunt, aut regum voce confirmatas, tres regni ordines sanxerunt, continentur, has partim Latino, partim Scoticō sermone confirmatas, regni municipales leges vocamus: libro qui leges Latinē scriptas continet, titulus (regiam maiestatem) prefigitur, quod ab illis vobis libri exordium ducatur. Reliquis legum libris, comitorū (quæ populari sermone parlamentera dicimus) acts inscribuntur. Quanquam hic aduentum, nos ita lege municipaliter teneri, ut si causa multis controuersijs implicata (quod sapere fit) incidat quæ legibus nostris non possit dirimi, statim quicquid ad hanc controuersiam decidenda necesse fatur, ex cuiuslibus Romanorum libris promatur. Sed si quis legum nostrarum originem velit conquicuisse inuestigare, intelligat potestatem has ferendi antiquandique trium ordinum suffragijs liberè in publicolatis regis assensu confirmatis esse positam. On which parlements so assembled, consisting of the thre estates, & the princes confirming voice (in the beginning whereof the king goeth to the place where that assemblie is made, to kepe such parlement attred in his regall garments, with the sword and other ornaments, the vantages of his kingdome and aunglie authoritie, caried before him, attended on with all his nobilitie and cleargie) those common people with ministeres gote such die names as seemeth best shewing to themselues, and is most answerable to the naturall order of that parlement, as we also do haue in England, whereof I could produce manie examples of both nations. Whiche at this time I will forbear, and onelie set downe one profe (as well of England as Scotland) to confirme the same, leauing in parlement it selfe without some example thereto, I might make a booke the b of knowledge concerning manie customes, without anie sound matter. Whiche to note, that as in England in the year of our redempcion one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and fiftieth year of the reigne of king Henrie the fift, the parlement

The parle-
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ment held at Oxford by the lords against the king, was called *Parlementum regium*, because manie things were there intreted which turned to the death of divers noble men. So the Scots in like manner bynames a parliament, in the year of Christ 1556, (being the fourteenth year of Mary the now impsoned quene of Scotland) and called the same a running parliament, because there were manie intermissions and ceasings during the continuance thereof, as appeareth by Leveis in these words.

A certa sequenti bubar, post Edinburgis trans ordinem comitis, in quibus domini Brus, James, Grangie, Delucius, & ali regis, quoniam bona gubernatione publicate fuerunt, singulari regis Francie commendatione digni, sicut aqua locis refectori sunt. Hac vero causa, quod intermisso paro quoniam amissi, quod contumelie, sicut & vnde acciperunt, ut corrumpere deciderunt. Thus much being said about their parlements, let us againe fall with our pen into the other matters of Scotland.

About this time an ambassage was sent out of England into Scotland, for the concluding of a peace betwene both nations; the contents whereof, the king (opening unto the lords and gentlemen assembled in parliament, and holde at Saint Andrews) did vise unto them this speech following.

The kings speech to the estates, concerning a league in religion with England.

 *My lords my lordis and to all of the ex-
statis hame mesured me to send for you at
this time to crone your studis towards
them, quiche of syth the one is generall &
the other particular, I will begin at the generall as
the matter of greatest weight. Amongst all the be-
nefites that God doth bestow vpon his elect and
church, the triall and fylling of the god chosen from
the badnesse of this, is one of the most spetiall, quiche
he hath did in all ages for the separatioun of thame,
almyng for that to lang compaine of the wicked doth
corrupt the godlie, as also that the ir separatioun is
a taken in this earth, of Godis loue towards hem,
quiche triall he doth note therfelle vse, for that the
number of the wicked doth abound in these letter
datis, quherin God doth permit the devill most to
rage. For quiche greater triall of the faithfull can
there be than the confederating togidher of all the
bastard christians, I meane the papists in a league
quiche they terme hollie, albeit most unholie in barie
truch, for the subuersioun of the true religioun in
all realmes throughout the whole barie. This is a
matter to manifest and notisous to you all, even by
the report of the farrall merchants that travail,
as it doth dilat the selfe thought I were silent.*

*This leagues quiboun of I speake, are composed of Frenchmen and Spanyngmole, almyng with the
king of Spaines and the papes monie, tolemie
froume to perforne the foraid enterprise before they
tene armes: the perfe vnters quicke of he ought
to refell for thair condic (to wit) for conscience, ho-
nor, and loue of felis. For gif they wote atteine to
their purpose (as God forbi) either will they de-
frois agaynt us, our villes and citys in, & capti-
fione we possesse, gif we remayne constante; either
else vnde we render Christ Jesu, and suffer our
soule which is the most noblen part of man to be
burnis in the benys of idolatrie, and our bodies
to be vdes at their vassallie plesance. But syth
the loue of our felis and our honour cannot per-
mit the one, and that our consciencys and the re-
membrance vne to God, cannot suffer the other: I
scame my lordis you but I foundis opinonis and
soule that y thine woldes to be vdes for the re-
medie hereof. But gif ye deside to dasch my*

*opinonis, it is this in ffe iocundis: that as sondys
christian principis have alredy comfled me, use
contraleague false mate, not amelie in termis, but
in effect holie, for the joining togidher all true christ-
ian principis to defens therfelles, in case of therfelles
trouours. A thing horribil to none, profitable to
felfis acceptable to God, and vse in the sight of the
baris. By this meanes fall our consciencis, honoris,
and lifs be preferred, and God and his religion
glorified and attauched.*

*Now with the quene of England is not anie a true
christian, but also merell want to be in neighbour-
hed, confangnitis and goodwill, I think it merell
in mine opinoun, that it be our league first and
most amicabile made with her; for quiche cause I
have mad and set done in a forme of act to be subscr-
ibed by you all, quichein y greate to ratifie and ap-
proue in parlement, quicke soone articles 3, or anie
in my name fall conclude with the quene of Eng-
land, or anie in her name, for the making and effec-
tuating of the foraid league. But so that the as it
selfe will make ample informe you, it shall present-
ly read in all your audiencis.*

*Upon this spech the lordis being of diverse opin-
ions, some willing to imbrace the league with Eng-
land, and some desirous to leue it, and to tyme in a
mellie with France according to the most ancient
leagues, which have bene establishyd betwene
them and the Scots by most of their former kings
(whereof the first was Athainus, who enting league
with Charles the great, had a token of confederati-
on therof, which was the floare belices aded to the
arms of Scotland) there was nothing done in that
convention. After whch, the banisched lordis of Scot-
land remaining in England, entered their countreis:
and after some abode ther made, vpon divers meet-
ings & consultations, at last gathered their powres,
and on the first of Nouember they pitched their
tents, placed there as it had bene a new towne, to
the great terrour of their enimis within Sterling:
determining for the cause of their comming this pro-
clamation following.*

The proclamation published by the nobilitie of Scotland, concerning the causes of their repairing towards the towne of sterling to the kings maiestie, the se- cond daie of Nouember.

 *Veras the kings maiestie our souveraignes
emperours, naturall, and vertuous education
is now plainebly understand to have bene
abused, and his roiall qualities givien to
him by the almighty God (which caused his same
far above the tapacitie of his yeares to be magni-
fied, and worthiye passed, to the great comfort of
all his subiects) hath bene these yeares past ob-
served by the craft & subtiltie of some lewd and wicked
persons of no deserit or worthiynesse, and for the most
part of base lineage, not borne to one fath breadth of
land, yet of maruellous aspiring louyngs and cruel
inclination; who under colour of friendship and
bliss creeping in about his maiestie, and seeking
onelie their owne particular profit and promotion,
shaking off as it were not onelie all christian and
charitable nature: but even the generall points and
effers of humanitie vded amongis most barbarous
people, without feare of God or man, as subtil
foures and bloudoue louyngs, by brewhing of lasses and
other deceiptfull practises, both to malice, to vze in per-
cuses, and to vnuess the whole bodye of this afflid
common wealth, that of the whole ancient forme of
justice and policie received of our ancestors, remai-
ning nothing, neither in spirituall or temporall
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gate, but the naked shaddis & counterfeited maske thereof to our souereignes high dishonor, our oppozitive (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie grasse of all god men throughout the realme. It is evidentlie kns vone that justice and quietnesse was in the realme, that heurtie loue betwixt his maiestie and his subiects; that beautifull countenance the church of God had, that daulie hope of increase, what expectation was of his highnesse in forren nations, before the arriall of D'egreis, afterwards called the duke of Lenox, and the entring in credit of James Stewart, and colonell Stewart with their unhappy companies. But what hath succeeded since, no true Scottish hart can remember without extreame dolour: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all replenished with particular enimitie, and cruell reuenges without punishment.

It is also well knowne, that whereas the wisnes of his maiesties most noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to possesse the hearts of their subiects, & to keepe the strengths of their realms in their owne hands (hereby meaning the better to preserue themselves against such inconueniences, as manie princes of that land misgoverned, and lead by peruerse counsell haue binne subiect vnto) that the foresaid abusors had deprived his maiestie both of the one and the other so far as in them lay. For the cheife strengths of the realme are in Arcane his hands, who bzagging of his pedigree by descent from duke Roebake (one that was beheaded for his treason against his souereigne) was not ashamed to saie (meaning of himselfe) Here stands the person of king James the seventh. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highnesse, and so (as appeareth) his maiestie made unable to punish them, if at anie time hereafter he shold perceiue their false and treasonable doings, what can be added more than these late seditions hath alreadie done in that behalfe, seeing vnder his maiesties name and authoritie, such parcialtie is vsed in all matters, such extortion with crueltie, and incredible dissimulation througheout the whol land, that were it not of his god subiects (vpon the experiance of his milie & calme gouernement before these lewd men about him) clearelie vnderstood that the causes of all these misorders ought to be imputed vnto them, & not to himselfe, they had long agone by vniuersall male contentement of the people (proceeding from the causes aforesaid) procured a grete distinction of the kings lieges hearts, and had cast his maiesties honor, crowne, and estate in maruellous danger; whereas now (blessed be God) all his true subiects are certeinlie persuaded, that if the said lewo persons could be separated from his maiestie, he wold returne againe to exercise his former clemencie and towardnes in enerie respect, which hath binne the yeres past maruellouslie eclipsed by the craft of those treasonable persons aforesaid, who not onelie haue sought & keepe for their particular comoditic, the destruction of certeine severall persons, but enemis (as it appeareth) haue conspired against the whol boord of the realme, in so much as there is no estate of the land free from their persecutions.

The worthiest and most ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie such as haue givien best profe of their forwardnesse in true religion, and fidelite to their souereigne) are by parcialtie, and iwesting of lawes, without mercie either executed, cosetered, impynsoned, banished, or at the leaft debarred his maiesties presence, against the ministerie, schoules, and aulgie, acts and proclamations published, inhibiting their presbyteries, assemblies, and other exercices, privileges, and immunitiess ratified by parle-

ments, procedings, or at the leaft by lawable entitie permitted ever since the first reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the ecclesiastical discipline cannot long continue: as being the onelie meanes to tri & examine the liues, maners, and knowledge of everie person, and to reuise the same if need require. With this the most learned, and of most unspotted liues of that number, are either compelled for safetie of their liues and conciences to abandon their countrey, or else inhibited to preach, or depayned of their stipends; Jesuits, seminarye priests, and such as be knowne practisers in divers nations for the execution of the bloudie counsell of Trent are intertained, and in great estimation; yea some indurated papists in fession, to occupie the places from the which the most godlie & faithfullye senators haue binne by them deuoted. An evident preſage of the ouerthrotte of true religion. And concerning the estate of burrowes, by intrusion of such magistrats to rule above them, as neither are comburgessels, nor apt to discharge them selues of such offices; but men elected to aplaunce and to consent to the appetitie of the seditions aforesaid, these privileges & ancient liberties are so preiudiced, that without timelie remedie, that estate (sometime a great ornament of the land) must needs suddenlye decale. So as these thre pillars (whereby the king & common wealth shold be preferred & uphelden) being wasted & undermined in maner above written, what can be expected but uniuersall ruine and ouerthrotte of the whol boord of the estate; except God of his mercie prevent the same? Besides all these, the foresaid abusors not restinge content with the enormities aboue exprest, haue practised, and daulie do practise to turne the hapie amitie & loue, which now a god space hath binde betweene the inhabitants of the whol Ile in open hostilitie & hatred, without respect of neighborhod or kindred, standing betweene the two princes, or regard had to the benefits that his maiestie of England hath bestowed vpon the king our souereigne, and his whol countrey, first by plantinge of true religion within this realme, and next by preseruing his maiestie, when as in his minoritie he could not take in hand or enterprise for himselfe.

To this effect they openlie dealt with such persons as by all meanes sought his maiesties destruction, as by the confession of sundrie his maiesties rebels latelie executed in England is made manifest. But how soone they perceived open danger to arise, by open dealing with his enimies, then fraudulie to slude his maiestie, they haue pretended these monlhs past, in great friendship and kindnesse, promising largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulat a bond offensive and defensiv to stand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithstanding all these libell promises, the effects by experiance declare nothing to haue binne in their minds but fayth & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Russell is manifest to the whol world, who being a yong noble man, for his birth and qualites verie honorable and vertuous, and of great experiance, & for his earnest zeale to religion, and god affection to the king our souereigne, and to all Scottish men in generall, one that merited grete praise, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in most odious and treasonable maner, even when as greatest kindness and friendshyp was pretended; which cannot but produce maruellous suspition and slander, aswell against the king our souereigne, as against the whol countrey, to his maiesties great dishonor, and discredit of his innocent subiects, if condigne justice be not ministred vpon the authors, and the executors of the horriblie crime aforesaid.

Last, which is most of all, and necessarilie craueth present reformation, the fore said abusors couert all these enormities with his maiesties name and au thoritie, thereby thinking to excuse themselves, and to lase the burden on him. And therefore, as it can not be but verie vanderous and dangerous to his maiestie, if such licentious persons (who hath alredie made shipwreckes of all honestie) be suffered to remaine in his compaunce: so is it shamefull to be reported in other nations, that such a few number of beggerlie fellowes replenished with all vice, should extinghuish the beautie of the nobilitie, haue empire ouer the whole countrie, and kepe his maiestie thrall to authorise by his totall power their abominable and execrable factes. For the cannes aforesaid, and manie others that might be iustlie alleged, iue of his maiesties nobilitie here present, in the feare of God and our souereignes obedience, being through Gods fre mercie called to be professors of the blessed euangel, and borne councellors to his highnesse our souereigne, bound in dutie not onelie to hazard, render and renounce our lynes, lands, and gods (if need be) for the same euangel and true religion, but also in conscience charged to be carefull of his maiesties welfare, honor, and reputation, and to procure to our abilitie, peace and quietnesse to him and his realme, hauing our lands and heritages so that else, holden of his maiesties most noble progenitors of wox this memorie.

In consideration of which great enormities and 30 tyrannies, haunting conuened our selues together for redresse and reformation of the same, seeing the suffering thereof hath alredie wounded the estate of true religion, dishonored his maiestie, disturbed the whole realme, and had almost distoyned awel the hearts of the princes as of the subiects of the two nations: we thinke it therefore high time, and we are in dutie and conscience (all doubt and perill set apart) to procure the separation and thrusting awaie of the said desperat and enoyme persons from about his maiestie, that his highnesse being restored to his former libertie, maiestrie, peaceable, and wiselie gouerne his subiects and realme, by advise of graue, modest, and indifferenter councellors; onelie respecting his maiesties suertie and preseruation, to the end that the afflicted church within this land may be comforted, and all ays latele made in preiudice of the same, maie be soleminelie cancelled, and for euer aduolled, his maiestie restored to his former libertie, the boode of his commonwealth (by punishing of vice cheefelie upon the authours of these late misfor ders, and maintenance of vertue) maie be once disburdened of the heauie oppresions and iniuries that they haue with no small grefe so long susteined, and the haigie amitie with England reestablished and conserued, to the high glorie of God, honor of the king our souereigne, and oueruall contentment of all god men ewers there. In prosecution whereof, we protest before God and his holie angels, we shall neither spare our lynes, lands, nor gods, but frankelie hazard and erpend the same as need craveth, vntill the said abusors be either apprehended or presented to iustice, to suffer for their demerits; or else (if they cannot be found out) till they be debarred from his maiesties compaunce, and expelled the realme.

Wherfore we command and charge (in our souereigne lords name) all and sundrie his subiects, as well to borow as to land, to forfite and aliste this godlie enterprise, and to concurre with vs to that effect, as they will give testimonie of their affection to the aduancement of true religion, his maiesties suertie and welfare, and the publike quietnesse of the whole realme; certifying all and sundrie that doyle

attempt anie thing to the contrarie, or will not take one fold and plaine part with vs, we will repute them as partakers of all vice and iniquitie, assyssors of the treasonable conspiratoris aforesaid, and enemies of true religion, to his maiestie and his authorite, and to the publike quietnesse betwixt the two realmes, & will vise them in bodies and gods accor dingly. And that all iustices as welch lords of sessions as shirriffes, commissioners, and other inferiour judges sit and administer iustice to the furtherance thereof, according to the laws of the realme, as they will answer upon their allegiance and bittermost perill, with certification of the disobeitoy, as is aforesaid.

The assemblie of the nobilitie and the proclamation thus knowne, diverse matters passed betwixt the king and the lords, as petitions to and fro made and exhibited, with grants therevnto according; and to conclude, much congratulation was made for retурne into their countrie of Scotland. In December there was a parliament called at Lithgo, at what time the earle of Arrane was displaced from his earldome, and (if I erre not) of fice of chancellorship: the remembrance whereof bath induced me to record some things touching some such persons as haue possessed that dignitie.

The names and tyme of certeine chancellors of Scotland, gathered out of the histories of that nation.

William Wood, bishop of Dunblaine was ^{william wood} chancellor to William king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1185, as some haue (but Leslie, lib. 6. pat. 1160, whose account herein is false) and continued in that office at the time of the death of the said William, which fell in the yeare of Christ 1214. After whose death he was by Alexander the second confirmed in the same place of chancellor. John Lion chancellor of Scotland (in the time of John Lion Robert the seconde of that name, and the first of the house of Stewards which ware the crowne) was chancellor of Scotland, who being in great fauour with the said Robert the second, maried the ladis Elisabeth daughter unto the said king, with whom he had in franke mariage diverse possessions called Glames, wherby he was called lord of Glames, of which Lion is that surname descended, who in memorie of that mariage beare in their armes the lions and lillies, with the tresse in such forme as the king of Scotland beareth the same, except that their lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinshed hath noted. Which Lion being chancellor was slaine in the yeare of our Lord 1280, being about the tenth yeare of the same Robert the second, who after hanched the earle of Crawford.

Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberden, being chancellor about the yeare of Christ 1411, in the vacancie of the kingdome, under duke Maxdacke, beforene the death of Robert the second (which fell in the yeare of Christ 1406, and the beginning of the reigne of James the first, in the yeare of our Lord 1426) was sent ambassadour into France with other noble men of Scotland. After which ambassage in France this Gilbert liued not verie long: for Henrie Licheton, who came thosilie in his place, of the bishoplike, was with other sent ambassadour into England, to fetch home James the first, and to interne him in the crowne of Scotland.

William Crichton knight, whom Leslie termeth ^{william} Crichton, the wised man that ever Scotland saw, being chancellor to James the first, was (in the yeare 1433, about the ninth yeare of the same king James) with the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepboune of Hales, sent

sent to the castle of Dunbar, with letters signed with the kings hand, directed to the keepers of the castle to deliver the same to the bringers thereof: which the keepers of that castle durst not disobeie, but permitted them to enter accordinglie. After this, in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie five, & the eleventh of the same king, he was sent ambassador into Denmarke, where he concluded a sound peace betwene the nations of Denmarke and Scotland; which god service being well weied, he was after the death of James the first, and in the entrance of James the second into the government of Scotland, in the yere of our Lord 1436, confirmed in his office of chancellorship, before which he had the government of the kings person, and of the castle of Edinburgh committed to his charge. Then by reason of contention which fell betweene sir Alexander Leningston the governour of the realme and this chancellor, they fell to parts taking in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and seuen, whereby infused much mischefe and bloudshed in the realme (as alwaies by my obseruation I have found to happen during the inuincible and the insufficiencie of kings) at what time the queene taking part with the governores against the chancellor, found means by subtilltie to get the king into his possession out of the hands of the chancellor, after that she had hardesomelie trussed vp the king in a tronke like a fardell full of apparel, wherepon the governores besieged the chancellor in the castell of Edinburgh, but in the end they agreed that Creighton shdoulde still keepe the castle of Edinburgh and his office of chancellor.

James the second.

That done, in the yere one thousand four hundred thirtie and nine, and the third yere of James the second, the chancellor obtained to have the queen Dowager, and her husband James Steward lord of Lorne released out of the prison of Sterling, whither they were committed by the governores. Which done, the chancellor keeping in mind the deceit of the queene, in ouerreaching him by getting the king out of his possession, and seeing the governores to take the whole authurite on him at his pleasure, did so woorke, that he found means that he onelie accompanied with fourt & twentie persons, did againe get the king (as he was one morning hunting in Sterling park) into his possession, whom he carried with him into the castle of Edinburgh, wherewith the governores was grevouslie displeased: but not able to remedie the same, there was an agreement made betwene the chancellor & him, that the king should remaine in the custodie of the chancellor, and the governores continue his office in administrating the affaires of the realme. Whereupon in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred and fourte, and the fourth yere of James the second, the governores and the chancellor aschale a councell of the nobilitie at Edinburgh. In the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred and fourte, being the eight of the same James the second, both the governores and the chancellor (at the peruation of William earle of Douglas) were remoued from their offices by the king, two being now aboue fourte yeres old, had taken the absolute government of the kingdome wth him, besides which they were also put from the councell, thei friends were banished the court, and they were summied to appear before the king, whch they refled, not as gilty in conuicione, but as seing the cruytis of their enimies, wherepon they were proclaimed rebels and put to the boorne, whch occassioned William Dowglas the chancellor's great enemie to gather a power and spoile the lands of this William Creighton for reuall therof, Creighton gathered a like power, entred the land,

of Dowglas, and spoiled the same all that he could, whch shing adding further heat to the Dowglas, caused him to praecte the king in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred fourtie and five, being the ninth yere of the kings reigne, to demand of Creighton the delinorie of the castles of Edinburgh and of Creighton, whch he deneng to do vntill the king came to full age, had all his gods confiscat, having therein no intere done vnto him, so as saith Lesleus: *Primus omnium sancuerat Creichtonus, Lesleus lib. 3. vt qui regi castrum aliquod postulanti reficerit, vice pag. 197.*

late maiestatis arcetatur, cuius ille legis poenam primus subiit, as he did whch deuised Phalaris bull.

But after, when the king had besieged Edinburgh castle nine moneths, Creighton being therin, the same was deliniered with condition, that Creighton shdoulde still remaine chancellor, whch obteined, he never after delt in affaires of the common wealth, whereby growing againe into the kings fauour, he was with others in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred fourtie & six, being the tenth of James the second, sent ambassador to the duke of Gelderland to obteine Marie the dukes daughter to wife for the king, whch he brought to passe. All whch notwithstanding, in the yere following he fell againe into the princes disgrace, and was by parliament holden in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred fourtie and seuen, for faulter, for that his seruants would not deliver Creighton's house or castle to the king, as before you haue heard. But after as it semeth, such is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for whch in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Dowglas (supposing him to be the earle that the king misliked the earle) assaulted one morning as he was comming out of the castle of Edinburgh, from whch although wounded, he escaped into his castle of Creighton, where in short space after he assembled a power, recovered Edinburgh from the Dowglas, and had destroied the earle at that present, if he had not shiffted awaie more spedilie: who being thus dishonorable chased from Edinburgh, drede the earle of Crawford and Kelle to ioin with him against Creighton, but he little esteeming thereof and requiting god for euill, did in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred fiftie and thre, or a thousand four hundred fiftie and four as some haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, grevouslie fallen into the kings displeasure. In whch yere also the king calling a parlement at Edinburgh, the earledome of Murray was given to sir James Creighton, or rather restored to him, from whome it had beane wrongfullie taken by the iniuste sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned to his brother Archibald Dowglas, altho the right remained in the same sir James Creighton. But yet when the same sir James could not keape that earledome without the enuie of divers persons, he surrendred the same into the kings hands. Beside all whch at this parlement was George Creighton created earle of Caithness, whch I thought god to note in this place, because it touched the name of Creighton, whreof I do now intre at by reason of this chancellor.

Andrew Steward lord of Arandale was chancellor of Scotland in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred thre score and eight, being about the eight yere of the reigne of king James the third, & was sent with others into Norwiche to conclude a mariage with the king of Denmarke, betwene his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which ladie he brought with him into Scotland in Julie, at what time they were married accordinglie. Some yeares after whch, that is about the yere of Christ one

James
20.

one thousand four hundre four score and two, and the two and twentieth of James the third, when Alexander Stewart Duke of Albany with the duke of Gloucester were come unto Rastalrig with the English power, this man amongst others, was sent to the English campe to treat with the two dukes, with whom in the end an agreement was made. By which the duke of Albany, before fled out of Scotland, was reflexed home, and had both honours and offices bestowed on him; who with this chancellor, & other noble men had the government of the kingdome for a certeine space: during which time, this duke the chancellor and others, going to visit the quene at Sterling, the duke by the quenes persuasion without knowledge of the other, went to Edinburgh, and by force reflexed the king to libertie, before taken and kept in hold by some of the nobilitie, which being knowne to the chancellor and the other lords at Sterling, they fled to their owne counteys.

James Beton archbishop of Glascow was chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred & thirteene, being the first yeare of king James the fift. This man being of great wisedome, was appointed amongst others to assist the quene in the government of the realme, whereunto she was for a time advanced: but the woman not induring to be directed by others, taking quarell against the bishop, did immediatlie after the mariage, performed the fift of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fourteene, betweene him and Archibald D'ouglas earle of Argus (which this bishop incountered as much as he could) take the great seale from the said bishop of Glascow, at saint Johns towne, therupon the bishop got him to Edinburgh, and assynd with manie lords, kept the quene and her husband out of that towne, whereby great dissencion and party taking was raised amongst the nobilitie of the realme. But as I gather, peace being made betweene them, he was againe made chancellor. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene, he contyned with the earle of Arrane, who submitted himselfe to the gouernour. Shortlie following, the gouernour gaue to this archbishop of Glascow the abbete of Arbroth, assyning to the earle of Arrane a large peallion out of the same, which bishop being thus in fauour with the gouernour, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seventeene in Paris, when the gouernour went into France appointed, amongst others, to haue the rule of the realme untill his returne. Two yeares after whiche, the nobilitie being divided about the quarell of the earle of Argus & Arrane, this bishop in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtene, being then also chancellor, with other noble men of the realme, kept the towne of Glascow; but after that, this chancellor who would not come to Edinburgh, the king of England and of France their ambassadores came to Sterling, where a peace was proclaimed amongst the nobilitie.

But what can long continue in one state, or what peace will be long imbraced amongst ambitious minds? sith in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentie, the noble men fell againe to factions: so when dissencion of the peers were come to Edinburgh to alde the earle of Argus against the earle of Arrane (this chancellor remaining then in the towne) they putted the earle and chancellor, so hodie, that they were both committed to the lake the towne, and to sile through the noord loch, about the thirting daie of April. But as the events of quarells be doubtfull, now by molo downe, so this archbishop not long after his disgrace, recovered breath; and in October following, dis accompanie the regent come out

of France to Edinburgh, where was a parlement holden, to summon the earle of Angus to appear; but he refusing, it was agued that the earle shold passe into England there to remaine.

The bishop thus hauing the better of his enemies, Andrew Forman bishop of S. Andrews died, in the yeare one thousand five hundred twentie and two, being about the ninth yeare of James the fift, by occasion therof, this chancellor James Beton bishop of Glascow was advanced to that see, and further made abbat of Dumfermling. Upon which news honor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and four, he was appointed one of the gouernours of the realme by parlement: but he not possessing this honor anie long time, the earle of Angus (who had gotten the king into his blurped government, and denied the delinuerie of the king, being sent for by this bishop and the other nobilitie) sent to the chancellor for the great seale, which was delivered to the messengers: vpon which, this bishop not forgetting the same, hastened the sentence of divorce sued before him, betweene the quene and the earle of Angus. Whereof the earle, to reuenge the same, did with the king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and six, take for the quene and the bishop of Saint Andrews: but because they were kept secrellie in their friends houses (so that they could not be heard of) he spoiled the abbete of Dumfermling, and the castell of Saint Andrews, taking awaie all that the archbishop had. Notwithstanding whiche, the archbishop keeping in fauor with the old quene and the yong king, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and nine, and the sixteenth yeare of James the fift, christen James the kings sonne borne at Saint Andrews, and not long after, surrendered his soule to God in the said yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine: of whome it shall not greeve me to set downe what Lesleus hath written, whiche though it be somewhat long, yet because it is necessarie, I haue rather set downe the platine words of the authour, than by abridging of them into our our tong; to depuite the authour of his due by his owne stile: thus therefore he writheth.

Iacobus Betonius archiepiscopus Santandreopolitanus, qui maximis reipublicæ honoribus summaque gloria apud nos quam diuissime floruerat, etate iam grandior, naturæ concedebat; ac in æde sancti Andreæ tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic antistes quosdam, quos egregiè charos habuit, viuus constituebat, ut in beneficia sibi mortuo sufficeretur. In episcopatum autem Santandreopolitanum, ac in abbathiam Arbrothensem, vir summa prudenter, & animi magnitudine prestans David Betonius cardinalis, eius ex fratre nepos, in abbathiam vero Dumfermlingenensem Georgius Dureus, in alia deinde alijs: quam illius voluntatem rex non impeditus, quo minus illi, quos archiepiscopus ante obitum constituerat, beneficijs liberè fruierentur: ne eius viui memorem semper laudaret, eius mortui voluntatem malitiose videretur rescidisse. Hic archiepiscopus precipuum illius collegij quod nouum Santandreapolii dicitur, partim suo sumptu excitauit, ac maximam pecuniam vim qua reliqua pars indora perplicuerat, teltato reliquit: verum pecunia illa in alios vius postea tradueta, collegij ius (ne quid acris dicam) perierat. Thus much Lesle, and thus much I, touching this chancellor, spoken of also in my treatise of the archbishops of Saint Andrews.

Gawen Dunbar archbishop of Glascow, and the kings scholastice, was chancellor as appeareth by Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 399. who in in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and two, shortly: Non multo post Andreas Formannus epis-

copus

James Be-
ton.

Sta

copus Santandreapolitanus vitâ cessit, huius quâm primâ honore ac titulo insigniebatur Iacobus Betonius archiepiscopus Glasuenensis, qui quidem archiepiscopatus omniâ summa voluntate cessit præstâfimo cuidam viro Gawino Dunbarro; cui quâd recôditæ eruditio, sincera virtus consiliique grauissimi laudibus præstiterit, regis tenella etas moribus doctrinâque informanda credebatur, quem intimis sensibus ita dilexit rex, ut sui intimi concilij socium, regique cancellarium postea illum cooptauerat.

David Beton (the brothers sonne of James Beton deceased archbishop of saint Andrews) was chancellor of Scotland, who being abbat of Arbroth, was with others sent ambassador into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and four, being the one and twentith yeare of the government of James the fift, for to procure the earle of Randolines sister in mariage for the king; but the same toke not effect, because the king going in person into France liked hit not. About these yeares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and seven, and the fourte and twentith yeare of James the fift, this David was advanced to the hono: of a cardinall, of whichtitle I do not at this time remember, that euer I haue read ante other to haue inioied but Walter Wardlaw, of whome Onuphrius thus writheth:

Two cardinals onte in Scotland.
Walterus episcopus Glasuenensis presbyter cardinalis creatus, anno Domini 1383, 10 kalend. Ianua. 6 pontificatus Clemetis 7, obiit inter annum 1400, & 1409, whome the Scottish histories make cardinall somewhat before in the yeare one thousand three hundred fourscore and two, about the eleventh yeare of Robert the second (at what time with others he was sent to Charles king of France as ambassador to renewe the league betwene France & Scotland) by Paul the third, then pope of Rome, to whom also the king of France gave in commendam the bishoplike of Miropien: of the making of whiche Beton cardinall, thus the same Onuphrius writheth: David de sancto Andrea Scotorus episcopus Miropiensis presbyter cardinalis tituli sancti Stephani in Cælio monte creatus, anno Domini, 1538, 13 kalend. Ianuar, per Paulum tertium, anno pontificatus 12. In whiche words Onuphrius, and Lesleus following him, refer the creation of this cardinall unto the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, though others attribute it to the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and seven. In whiche yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, he was with others sent ambassador into France after the death of the quene, to procure Marie of Loixne widow duchesse of Longuile, and daughter to the duke of Guise, to be giuen to king James in mariage; whiche matter he brought to his desired effect.

The next yeare after, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine, as you haue heard before, he was by his uncle James Beton archbishop of saint Andrews, & abbat of Arbroth, appointed to succeed in the same bishops see and abbatte, whiche he inioied accordingly: who advanced with these dignitie, did after the death of James the fift, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourtie and two, labou by policies and other extraordinarie deuises to be governour of the realme, during the minoritie of the young quene; but he was disappointed thereof by the nobilitie, who chose the earle of Arrane to that function; by meane wherof, there fell continuall dissensio[n]s betwene the nobilitie, whiche ended not untill this cardinall was slaine as after it shall appearre. For Shoxlie after in the said yeare one thousand five hundred fourtie and two, being committed to ward (in the castle of Dalketh under the custodie of the

lord Heton, smallie factoring the French satipn) because he would haue persuaded the nobilitie to for-sake the motion of the R. of England, determining to marie his son prince Edward to the young quene of Scots. But the cardinall did not long remaine there; so by the governoz appointment he was remoued to his owne castell of S. Andrews, having watch and ward about him, to see him safelie kept, in whiche place also he did not long continue; for corrupting his keepers he found meane to escape whiche doone, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fourtie and three, he came to the coronation of the young quene, and shoxlie after persuaded the earle of Arrane the governoz to leaue the part of the king of England, and wholie to become French.

Now at the coronation, the cardinall ordered all things, appointing exerice officer, and growing into great credit, did in like sort at other times dispose of the common wealth as seemed best liking unto him. Wherevpon, the earle of Lenore taking part with the English, opposed himselfe against the governoz and the cardinall, whereby followed sharpe warres, the cardinall still supporting and counselling the governoz: whiche troubles being somewhat abated, by reason the earle of Lenore was gone into England, the cardinall in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fourtie and four, received the patriarch of Jerusalem arrived in Scotland. In whiche meane time, there was great contention betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glascol, for bearing their crosses in the others jurisdiction: wherevpon they fell from words to swords, whiche the governoz appealed: that doone, the patriarch the popes legat comming to Rome, procured the legantine power to be granted to this cardinall, whiche he long inioied not. For being greatlie entred by reason of these hono: & some grievous factz, certeine persons in the yeare one thousand five hundred fourtie and six (after that he had banished George Wilchard a learned man, condemned at saint Andrewsby an assemblie of bishops) did the thirteenth day of Maie (when they had secrete in the morning entered the castell of saint Andrews where the cardinall was) expell the porters of the foysaid castell, the cardinals servants, and slue the cardinall naked as he came to maie them, whose death sir James Lermont prouost of saint Andrews thought to haue staled by assembling a power therefore: but after that he saw the cardinals dead body hanged out ouer the wals, he made no further attempt. The death of whiche cardinall comming to the governoz eares, he banished the author thereof, as writheth Lesleus in these words: Gubernator quod nec cognato suo sanguinis coniunctio, nec cardinali dignitas, nec cancellarii maiestas ad dominum propria, ad impotum inuidias effugendas quicquam proficerit, & gerriam ferre. Confilio itaque Huntlei ac Argadij natiuus indicito, in eisdem auctores capitul proscriptio[n]e sententia data est.

George Gordon earle of Huntlie, sonne of John George Gordon, being chancellor of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourtie and seuen, falling about the fift yeare of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots, was taken prisoner by the English at opukelbozow field, who pitteng the miserie of divers of his countremen, wounded and taken at the same battell, did undertake for their ransome; wherevpon they were permitted to paye, and left to shifte for themselves as well as they myght. In the next yeare, which was the yeare of Christ (as hath Lesleus one thousand five hundred fourtie and eight) the protector of Scotland sent Carnegie knight and senator to the protecto: of England, to compaie Huntlie, or at the least to obtine that his wife myght

But the

Lesleus lib. 10
pag. 482.

wife might come unto him. Whereupon the earle was with his keper permitted to come to Moray, where expecting his wife, he thought upon his escape, and from thence after supper, deceiving his warders, he fled by night into Scotland, through the aid of one George Carr his deare friend, who promised him spedie horses therfore. The earle being thus come into Scotland, was to hisfis intertained of the quene, the governoz, and the other nobilitie; but chieselie of his wife, whose earnest desire to see him was the occasion of his escape. But as all iarie hath some hard hap for the most part attending upon the same; so this earle did after feele the force of like misfortune. For about seven yeares after, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and four, he was againe committed to prison as after shall appear. Before whiche, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, he with other noble men goeth into France with the quene mother of Scotland; but before that iournie, whiles he was preparing for the same, he commanded William Mackintosh chiefe of the Glenchatlins to be executed at Stratbolgie, for a priuie conspiracy made against him, being the kings lieutenant in the north parts. Whiche thing raised a great commotion like to haue succeeded to great slayters (in that the earle of Cassels and manie others fauored Mackintosh) if the wiſdom of the quene mother had not appeased the same.

After that the quene mother had bin in France, she in the same yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, returned into Scotland through England: but the earle Huntlie warlike fearing to fall into the dangers of the English (whome he thought would not forget his escape from them, returned by sea into his owne countrie: after whiche, when he had bene about four yeares in Scotland, the quene mother regent in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and four, sent this earle Huntlie into Heſtland to take John Mudſian: but returning without him, he was committed to prison in Edinburgh the eleventh of October: at that time the regent changed all the officers, tolke a wate the gre at seale from this earle Huntlie the chancellor, and gaue it to monſieur Rubie a Frenchman, whiche monſieur Rubie thus made keper of the great seale in the said yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and four, and the twelfth yeare of Marie quene of Scots, had the vse of the same seale in the place of the earle Huntlie then chancellor in ward. But the earle of Huntlie after being set at liberty, it seemeth that he was still chancellor. For besides that Lesleus saith that he was restored to all his dignities (except the earldome of Murreie, wherof he had a gift of inheritance, the earldome of Marre, the farmes of Oxkenie & Heſtland, and the quenes land at Skaitſoie, all whiche he gaue for his libertie) he is also by the ſcottish histories named ſtill chancellor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threſcore and one, and the nine teenth yeare of quene Marie, being then by the nobilitie amongſt other, choſen to be of the priuie counſell. Of whome before this also Lesleus writteh, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, the quene hauing received a bill of ſupplication from the protestants: Illa hunc protinus libellum ſupplicem per Huntleum regni cancellarium ſynodo exhibendum, ut de illis definiret, redidit.

After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threſcore and two, in October being the twentieth yeare of the ſame quene, he was in the faction betweene him and others (for diuerſe miſdemeanors also, vpon his comming with an armie

to Cornetbie in Mar) laſt, and John Gordon his ſonntaken priſoner, brought to Averdine the nine and twentieth of October, and there beheaded. Now for the other chancellors whiche followed in ſucceſſion of time, because they ſall yet ſtreſh in memorie, and ſome mention is made of them in this my continuation of these annals: I do not intend to make ane double recall of them in that place, being a thing ſuperfluous to do: therefore, because Omne niſium vicitur in uitium (thereto the lawiers agré ſaieng) But Fruſtra ſit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora) I will reſerve thē for the ſupplement of this title of the chancellors, to the ſame continuation of my annals, there at thy pleasure to collect and diſpoſe them, as well shall ſerve thine owne memorie or knowledge.

Wherfore leauing them, and returning to the conſideration of other things, whiche following time hath begotten and brought forth in Scotland: we ſate, that as the quene of England had before time, after the taking of Sterling, ſent maſter Knolles into Scotland, to understand the eſtate of thē times: ſo in like ſort the Scots with like congratulation, diſpatched a messenger unto the quene of England, by whome ſhe might haue knowledge of ſuch things as were after done. For maſter William Keith one of the chamber to the king, was ſent from the king of Scots to the quene of England in the ſame moneth of December, a little before Christmas with letters, who comming to the court then remaining at Greenewich, did there make deliuerie of the ſame letters. During whiche abode here in England, ſome of thē whiche had before attiſed the earles of Angus and Marre, againſt ſuch as ſeemed to nouriſh the king in the Romane religion, fell from their former opinion, & either for loue to the ſainte Romane religion, or for malice to other of the nobilitie, or for a deſire to be ſingular to themſelues, imbraced the aboliſhed doctrine of the pope, & ſet vp the ceremonie of Italie. Amongſt whome one, not of the meanest, the lord Marwell, who had maried the earle of Angus his ſiſter, did in Januarie advance the ſame, and heard masse at Linclouden a mile from Dumfries, contrarie to the publike lawes appointed in Scotland. Wherof intelligence being brought unto the king, he ſoorthwith diſpatched a messenger unto him, commanding him to ſurceſe the ſame. But the lord Marwell perſiſting in that his former action, was (in the end apprehended, and upon the refuſal of an oþ touching the ſame, according to the lawes of Scotland) committed to prison in Edinburgh, where he long reſained.

These things thus done in Scotland, the aforesaid maſter Keith departed from London towards that countrie, about the ſoune and twentith of Januarie, with anſwer that his maſtelle of England would ſhortlie ſend an ambafſadour into Scotland, who ſhould ſatilie the king in all things, and further deliuer unto him the full of his maſtelleſ determination. Whereupon Thomas Randolph esquier, a perſon who had manie times before exerciſed that function in thōe countrieſ, and was well acquainted both with the ſtate & maners of the people, was by the quene of England diſpatched into thōe parts; who being ſo authoriſed, tolke his iournei from London towards Scotland on the eighth day of Februarie. After whiche, in Aprill following, maſter Archibald Dolyleſſe (one that had bene ſome time of the leſſon or parlement of Edinburgh) hauing remained ſome yeares here in England, vpon diſpleaſures whiche the king of Scots conceived againſt him, did make his returne into his owne countrie, where he behaued himſelue ſo wiſelie,

Monſieur
Rubie keper
of the great ſeale.

The lord
Marwell hea-
reth maſter.

Maſter
Randolph go-
eth into Scot-
land.

wifelie, that he obtained great fauor after his returne home. In this yearre, the presbyterie (as they had manie times done befor), but especially in the yearre of Christ one thousand four hundred fourtye score and thre, which I thought to note in this place, because I would not often use repetition of one thinge done at severall times in so manie places) did excommunicate their metropolitan the archbishop of S. Andrews, and the rest of the bishops also, because they would not in all their actions, support and conserue the doctrine which the presbyterie had established. Which excommunication the presbyterie did the more boldlie, because they were supported by the assistance of the maister of Lincolne, a great entie to his Patrike Adamson bishop of saint Andrews.

But the king in the beginning did assist him against them, and the archbishop did in like sort thurder an excommunication against them. Which division not being meant to be in the cleargie, who ought to be (as the apostles were) of one hart, and of one mind, will in the end as Christ saith, bring the same realme to confusion: for Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur: which must needs be, where euerie man will be a lord, & that the inferior of the clergie will neither acknowledge nor obeye anis superiors. In which place, sith I have mentioned Patrike Adamson the archbishop of saint Andrews, because I shall not haue occasion to speake anie more of him, I will here set downe a collection of all the archbishops of that see.

A Cathalog of the archbishops of saint Andrews, collected out of the histories, of Scotland.

And the Scots seeking meanes to rid themselves from subiecture of the bishop of Yorke, who was the metropolitan of Scotland, did in the yearre of Christ one thousand four hundred thretye score and fourteene obteine of the pope that they myght haue a metropolitan see within themselves, by reason of the continual wars which was betwene the two nations; during which they could neither use appellations to their metropolitan, nor haue other bishops consecrated. Whereupon the pope erected the church of S. Andrews into an archbishoprike in the time of king James the third, touching which, thus wrytelth Leslieus, lib. 8. pag. 317. Hoc anno (which was the yearre of Christ one thousand four hundred thretye score and fourteene) Patrikis Grahamus sedis Andreapolitanæ ecclesie episcopus, crebris litteris ac nuntiis a papâ efflagitatur, ut metropolitanâ potestas in diu. Andreæ ciuitate figeretur: iniquu. esse enim contendit, ut Scotti ab Eboracensi episcopo, tanquam primate penderent, cum propter crebra bella (quibus se Scotti & Angli mutuò lacerfuerint) Scottis ad illum non patetur tutus accessus, nec liberum ius, præfertim in appellationibus. Annuit summus pontifex, ut Andreapolitano deinceps episcopo potestas metropolitanana incumbat. Dies indulto pontifici promulgandi mense Septembri dicta est, atque maxima populi nobiliu[m]q[ue] latitia celebrata. Episcopi reliqui Grahami odio flagrantes, illius autoritatem repudiant, regisque animum ingenti pecunia (which was as other authors saye, eleven thousand marks) occupant, ne Grahami partibus staderet. Interea præfules Româ mittunt qui sui defensionem contra Grahamum suscipiunt. But in the end they did not preuaine. Graham was made archbishop.

Patrike Graham being bishop of saint Andrews and the first archbishop of that see, was after his advancement to that title deuised in this sort. In the

yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thretye score and fourteene, pope Xijus the fourth of that name sent a legat called Hulman into Scotland, which shoulde displaunce this Patrike the archbishop of saint Andrews, condemned by the sentence of the pope and the cardinals for an heretike, schismatike, simoniate, wherupon he was deprived of all ecclesiastical dignitie, and commanded to perpetuall prisyon; in whose place was William Schewes chosen, to whose custodie and disposition this Patrike was committed, after which Graham being remoued for his safe imprisonment first to saint Colms Ile, then to Dumpermeling, and lastlie to Lochlevene, there in the end he died, and was buried in saint Martins or Sernianatus Ile in Lochlevene after that he had bene thre yeres archbishop.

William Schewes being created archbishop of saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thretye score and eighteene as some haue, or one thousand four hundred thretye score and nineeteene as others haue, in the Holie rood house in Edinburgh, in the presence of king James and mane of the nobilitie received the pall, as the ensigne of his metropolitan power, being declared legat and primat of Scotland, at that time he was not withstood by anie of the other bishops, who being estranged from shewing anie fauor to Graham, did often infringe his authoritie, and in the end expell the same Graham from his archiepiscopall see. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fourtye score and two, this archbishop Schewes fled into his owne countrey, and after at the request of the king resigned his archbishoprike, contenting himselfe with the bishoprike of Purrie.

Andrew Stewartuncle to king James the third was upon the resignation of William Schewes made archbishop of saint Andrews; after which in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fourtye score and four the king sent this archbishop ambassador to Rome for the obtaining of certeine priuileges, which he hought to effect. In the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fourtye score and eleven, in the time of king James the fourth, about the third yeare of his reigne was great contention betwene the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glascow, touching both their authoritie: which when it had drawen manie of the nobilitie into divers factions, it was ceased by the king for a certeine time, vntill all doubt thereof might be taken awaie, by deciding the same by the canon law before ecclesiastical iudges. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuen, being about the nineteenth yeare of James the fourth, the bishop of saint Andrews with the earle of Arrane were sent ambassadors in to France.

Alexander Stewart bastard sonne to king James the fourth, was made archbishop of saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and ten, about the two and twentith of the reigne of the same James the fourth: this man hauing long studid with Crâmus in Germanie, and in the low countries was advanced to this see of the archbishoprike when he was yet in Flanders; who hauing intelligence thereof by his frends, came soothly into Scotland, where he was sofullie received by the king, the nobilitie, & his kindred. He was slaine together with his father king James the fourth at Floden field, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie. After which, John Hepburne prior of saint Andrews strongly besieging the castle of saint Andrews, forced the same to be yelded unto him. The cause of which besiege grew that Hepburne being chosen bishop of saint Andrews by his canons of that church (whereunto the whole nobilitie were

williams
Schewes.

Andrew
Stewart.
Leslieus.

1483

Alexander
Stewart.

Leslieus.lib.8.
pag.353.

Left pag 373.

were helpers) was hindered to possesse that archbisoprike, by such stipendarie people of Gawine Dowglasse as kept the castle; wherevpon the queene and the earle of Angus, after that they understood how the castle was by force come into the hands of Hepburne, did take in evill part that he who was so troublesome unto them, shoulde ascend to so high a dignitie, and that Gawine Dowglasse so deerele to them beloued, and to whom they had givene that by shyprike shoulde be helpless of the recoverie therof. Wherevpon the queene and the duke of Albanie diligentie labored by ambassadores sent to Rome, that a thir person (sith Gawine Dowglasse could not obteine it) might be aduanced thereto, which thrid man was Andrew Forman bishop of Murrie: further requiring therewithal that he might be abbat of Dunfermling, & Aberbroth, which in the end with much intreacie they obteined of the pope.

Andrew Forman.

Andrew Forman bishop of Murrie was at Edinburgh by the popes buls on the eighth kalends of Januarie in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene (being about the second yeare of the reigne of James the fift) declared archbishop of S. Andrewes, and abbat of Dunfermling and Aberbroth. Wherevpon the prior of saint Andrewes before named, still contending that he was archbishop, both in respect of the election of the couent, and the consent of the nobilitie, did labou all he could against Forman, appealing him to Rome, for which cause he with the lord Hales and other his friends came to Edinburgh to defend the matter, at what time the lord Hume chamberlaine of Scotland and such others as openlie afflited Forman, did oppose themselves against the prior, which nobilitie (because they were great in the court) did the more molest and hinder Hepburne, shortly after by publicke edict and proclamation of the king) banishing the prior & his followers. Hepburne being striken with the sharpnes of that precept, did privatlie depart the towne, and the prior went to Rome, hoping by the popes authoritie to wrest from Forman the archbisoprike, which he could not obteine by violence. But how he sped at Rome I do not know, for I onelie find this, that in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtene, about the third yeare of the same James the fift, that the governour perceyning that all these contentions, hatreds, and dissensions of the nobilitie did arise by these brawles, which were betweene Forman and Hepburne for the see of saint Andrewes, deſired to cure this grievous wound made in the commonwealthe. Wherefore he persuaded Andrew Forman that he shoulde resigne all his ecclesiasticall benefices into his hands in an open assembly at Edinburgh, for by that meanes the governour thought that he might pacifie the minds of the nobilitie, and vterlie root out those brawles of dissencion. Wherevpon there was a date appointed to the nobilitie to assemble: at that time Andrew Forman scraile resigned to the governour the duke of Albanie all his ecclesiasticall promotion, to be disposed at the dukes pleasure. In consideration thereof, the duke bestowed the archbisoprike of saint Andrewes and the abbeie of Dunfermling vpon the same Andrew Forman, and gave the bishoprike of Murrie to James Hepburne (greatlie fauored of the earle Bothwell and the competitor of Forman) being therewithal substitute by John Hepburne prior of saint Andrewes in place of the said John, to whom moreover the duke appointed a perelie pension of a thousand marks, to be pated by the same Forman out of the abbeie of Dunfermling. After which, about six years or somewhat lesse, this Forman departed his life, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and two, and the

ninth yeare of king James the fift, to whom succeeded James Beton.

James Beton archbishop of Glascoi and chancellor of Scotland, was made archbishop of saint Beton, Andrewes (as is before touched) after the death of Andrew Forman, having therewith the abbeie of Dunfermling, as his predecessor before had possesſed it, of whom see more in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

David Beton brother to the same James Beton was after the death of the last archbishop of saint Beton, Andrewes named to that sic by his brother before his death, which place he possessed accordinglie, after the death of the same James Beton. Of this man being a cardinal I have spoken more liberalie in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

John Hamilton (brother to the governour) being abbat of Paislie, was by the same governour in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and six, being about the fourth yeare of Marie queene of Scots made archbishop of S. Andrewes, after that he had returned out of France (where he apied his studie) in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie & three, being the first or second of queene Marie of Scotland. This man comming out of France, passed through England, and haning other learned men in his compaie, did visit the king of England, of whome he was most honourable and courteouslie received. From whence going into Scotland he was made treasurer, which office he kept as long as his brother was governour, whome he did further in all god counsels at home, and saue & defend in the wars abroad. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, being the seauenth of queene Marie, he was with the queene besieged in Leith. After still following the queenes part, he with others meteþ her in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and six, at Spakelborow, and so attenedly on her, who not long after in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie & one, being about the fourth yeare of James the fift, was taken in the castell of Dunbratine, and sent prisoner into Sterling, where being examined by the regent Mathew earle of Lenore, about the murther of Henrie king of Scots, sonne to the said Mathew, he was there drawne, hanged, and quartered, being the first archbishop that I haue yet heard of that suffered so ignominious a death.

Patrike Adamson did Constance succeede Patrike Adamson in the archbisoprike of saint Andrewes, who possessing this place at this date, and having occasioned me to speake of him in severall places in this my continuance of the annales of Scotland, is here to be ouerpased, and therefore I referre the to the same annales, if thou desire to know what I haue said of him. Thus knitting vp the catalog of the archbishops of S. Andrewes, we saie that as you haue heard before, that in Febrarie last Thomas Randolph esquier was sent ambassadores from the queene of England into Scotland, so he still remaining there a long time in that countrie dispatcht his ambassage to god effect. During whose aboade there, there was an assemble holden at Edinborough in Mai, wherein these things which follow were concluded vpon for the establishing and order of the same commonwealthe.

The articles concluded in the assembly holden at Edinborough in Mai.

First, the whole realme was diuided into 52 presbyteries, & the number of ministers and churches appointed to euerie presbyterie.

2 That

The historie of Scotland.

2 That there shall be two prouinciall assemblies in the yeare in euerie prouince, the first tuesday of October and Aprill.

3 There shall be one generall assembly in the yeare, the first of October next ensuing.

4 All assemblies doo consist of these persons, the pastor, doctor, and elders, & all the thre to haue votes, as well in the presbyteries prouinciall as general assemblies: and that all such as haue anie sutes in the assemblies may see and here, but haue no vote except they be of the number of the thre aforespe- cified.

5 That there was onelie four offices in the church, the pastor, doctor, elder and deacon, and that the name of bishop was onlie proper to the pastor or minister, and that he had especiall charge and function in the church, but no greater than a common pastor.

6 Item, that visitation in the church was lawfull, and at this time necessarie, in respect of the elder- ship as yet is not lawfullie planted, and that this visitation did aperteine onelie to a pastor, or pastors sent from the assembly, and not else.

7 That when ever the assembly makesh mention of a bishop, they meane onelie S. Paules bishop and none other.

8 That the receyving of presentations, giving of collations, triall of ministers, depoing them for iusti- caues, shall be in the power of the most learned and soundest judgement of two presbyteries, and this to stand vntill the presbyteries be better erected.

9 That a commisioner appointed by the generall assembly, being a pastor, as pastor shall be tried and censured in life and doctrine by the presbyterie, or prouinciall assembly, but in respect of his commis- sion, he shall be tried by the generall assembly, of thome he received the same.

10 If he admit or doo any thing without consent of his assembly, it shall be of no effect, and a full cause of his deposition.

11 The power which he shall receive shall be O- dinis causa non iurisdictionis.

12 Commission appointed by the prouinciall or generall assemblies to visit, shall visit presbyteries or particular churches, alwaies not presudging the power of the presbyterie within the bounds of their visitation.

13 The visitors appointed by the generall assem- bly for this present to stand for one yeare, and there- after as the assembly shall appoint.

14 That no commision given by anie in times past before the date of this assembly shall be vales- able, but such onlie as the said assembly shall appoint. In which assembly also it seemeth that the kings ma- jestic made certeine requests, to haue somewhat es- tablished concerning the bishop of saint Andrews, wherevpon these things were concluded against him, and he brought to subscribe the same, to the pre- dictice of his metropolitanne iurisdiction ouer the rest of the clergie of his crowne.

The meanes taken in this generall as- sembly, touching the bishop of S. Andrews, at the desire of the kings maestic.

No the bishop by his owne handwriting or personall appearance in the assembly, will in Gods presence denie, that euer so to claime a supremacie, or to be iudge ouer other persons and ministers, or euer anowled the same to haue a ground in Gods word: and that if he had so done, it had beme great errore and against his con- science and knowledge.

2 If he will denie, that in the last synodall as-

sembly he claimed to be iudge thererinto, and that if he had done it, that he erred in it, and in his impious behaviour or contempt of the said synod and his bretheren, in that he will remit him to the bretheren present, and crame pardon for the oversight thereof, and promise god behaviour in the time to come.

3 If he will promise to claime no further than he lawfull may by God his word, and according to the last conference, and endenour himselfe in all beha- viour to shew himselfe in all time to come a mode- rat person, and so serue, as that he may proue agreeable for a bishop prescribed by S. Paule, and to sub- mit his life and doctrine to the iudgement and censure of the generall assembly without anie recla- mation, pronocation, or appellation from the same in anie time to issue.

These things being demanded at the archbishops hands, he was contented to yeld to them by subcribing his name with his owne hand therer- on, whiche done, the said assembly at Edinburgh did for their part in like sort publish their dutifull mind & obedience to his maestie, in aduising the processe of excommunication against the said bi- shop of saint Andrews, and to continue him in his former estate, as followeth.

The decree of the assembly at Eden- burgh, concerning the restituicn of the bishop of S. Andrews.

¶ O: his maesties satisfacion, and to give testimone with what god will we would obete his heltes to faire as we ought, or in conscience we may, and for god hope we haue in his maesties favourable concurrence in building vp of the house of God within this realme, and bicause the processe of excommunication was laid, and the sentence pronounced during the time of the conference, wherevpon his maestie hath ta- ken decission of offense, whiche for manie god causes were convenient to be removed, we will forbeare to examine the said processe, or decide it, whatsoever pronocation or appellation, or to call in doubt the le- galitie or forme of the said processe, or to condemne the said synod. Yet for the respects aforesaid, and vpon god and weightie considerations, we hold the said processe and sentence as vnlated, vndeducted or pro- nounced, and restore the said bishops in all respects so faire as may concerne the said processe and sentence of excommunication in the former estate he was immedatly before the same, like as no processe nor sentence had been laid and deducted against him. Providing alwaies he obserue what hath beme promised by him in the premisses, & behaue himselfe dutifullie in his vocation in all times comming.

This done the earle of Rutland (hauing a com- mission directed to him, to William lord Evers, and to the same Thomas Randolph) went to Berwike as his maesties ambassadours, to confirme that league betwene the two nations of England and Scotland, whiche the said Randolph had before conclud- ed. Wherevpon the commissioners of England, the earle of Rutland, and the lord Evers, from out of England, and Thomas Randolph from out of Scotland, came to Berwike the place appointed where this league shoule be fullie established. For the meeting of whome at the same place, were commissioners of like number, and equall honor and autho- ritie, appointed to come to Berwike for Scotland. But some delaies being made of their appearance, and manie excuses wherewith to interteine time by messengers vled, at the length commeth to Ber- wike Francis earle Bothwell, Robert lord Boyd, and

and sir James Hume of Colden Knowles knight and baron, commissioners for the king of Scots, who there meeting with the foresaid commissioners of England, did conclude a league defensiu[n]e and offensive betwene these two nations: whicke done, the earle of Rutland returned home, and maister Randolph departed againe into Scotland to take his leue of the king, whome when he had saluted he left, and returning into England came to London about the fifteenth of August, where I will now leue him. But before I turne my pen to any of the persons of Scotland, I determine to set downe certeine verses whiche Buchanan dedicated unto him. For altho[ugh] they be matter impertinent to this historie of Scotland, yet because they were written to him (here mentioned) by a Scot, and are meet for the instructions of the yong Scottish king, I will not refuse to set them downe in this sort as followeth:

*Septi Randolph iubet me pingere regem,
Qualem optem, tribuat sic mibi vota Deus.
Accipe: si primum vera pietatis amator,
Effigiem somni se putet esse Dei,
Pacem amet: & si res poscat, si ad arma paratu[m],
Exeat in viatos arma, odiumque simul,
Nolo nimis parcus, nimium sit nolo benignus,
Vtrique regno aqua est exitus a liu[m],
Non sibi sed populo s[ecundu]m patet esse creatum,
Et se communem iuuibus esse patrem:
Punit iniusti, clam ris iubet esse seuerum,
Publica clam poscent commoda lenu[m] erit.
Punit, ut exemplar populo sit recta sequenda,
Sit vultus prauus terror, am[or]isque bonu[m],
Excolat impense ingenium, corp[us]que modestu[m],
Luxuriem fraret cum ratione pudor:
Iam tacitus tecum sent as me fallere, tanquam
In tabula nostrarum, qui mibi pingit heram.*

During the time of the abode of this Randolph in Scotland, there was an ambassador sent from the king of France to the king of Scots, which ambassador being called monsieur D'annauall had at this time small entertainment in Scotland; where not staieng long after that Randolph was come into England, he also came hither out of Scotland, to the end to passe through this countrey into France. This summer Montgomerie erle of Eglinton, whose father died not manie yeares before, hauing married the daughter of the lord Boyd was slaine in this sort. The earle being a godlie yong gentleman, and like to proue a god member of his countrey, as manie of his ancestors had done before, did for his delight ride forth on hunting (a warlike exercise, & much viced by the Scots) about fift or six miles fro his owne castell, where hauing satisfied his pleasure, he returned home. But hauing witt late for him by an ambush of his enimies, he was in his forne towards his castell intercep[ted] by the lord of Glencairn brother, with the lards of Hacket and Robertlands, and some of the surnames of the Muirs; at what time he was most miserablie slaine by them to their great dishonor, and his countrey discommoditie. After whicke, in September Archibald Dowglasse (who as you heard before departing this realme in Apill last, was admitted to come into his owne countrey) was sent ambassador from the king of Scots to the quene of England; in those compaines were attendant on him William Murro one of the kings chamber, and Richard Dowglasse nev[er]e unto the same Archibald. Whicke ambassador after his comming into England, had full audience at the court then remaining at Windsor, on the sixt of the same moneth of September, with whome remaining still here in England, at the writing hereof, expeateing the end of his ambassage; I will set end to this slender discourse.

course. Thus hauing patched vp a Rapsodie of some few things done in Scotland since the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and one, in which I began my annals of that countrey so ha[ve]delie delivered by me, I determine to knitt vp all that soever is set downe before, with a catalog of such writers of Scotland, as either by mine owne search in histories, or by others intelligence by conference haue come unto my hand. The whiche I haue bene the willinger to do, because I would observe that course in Scotland whiche I haue done in my additions to the historie of England, first written by Raphael Holinshed. For hauing there closed vp that historie with a generall catalog of all such as haue written answere whiche concerning England, so will I wrap by these annals of Scotland, much after that manner, with a generall discourse of the writers of that countrey. In doing whereof I haue not refusid to follow the order of Leslie and other historiographers of Scotland, obseruing the like course in the repetition of the names of a few persons at the end of most of their kings.

A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland, with the times in which they liued, as well of the yere of Christ, as of the reigne of Scottish kings.

Before I enter into the discoursse whereof (which I speake not by wate of impeaching anie glorie of the Scottish nation) I must deliue the opinion whiche I conceiue of some of the Scottish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, (so (saing excep[tion]e) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, do transferre them to all their owne countrey of Scotland. But in that they seeme unto me (holding the same for this present untill I may see god authoritie to disp[one]ue it) to be ouer coneturous in taking from other that whiche is their due. For I do verelie suppose, that manie of those men so termed Scots were Irishmen borne. For untill late yeres a little before the conquest (if my memorie faile me not) the Irishmen were called Scottis or Scots; wherepon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen at this daie now knowne by severall names, do challenge Duns, Columbanus, and others to be borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for challenging those men unto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called Scots, it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers do under the amphibologall name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to aduance the one, or derogate from the other) will onlie in this place set them downe as I find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same, first leaving it to the judgement of others, to thinkes thereof as they please; for I neither may nor will sit as Honorarius arbitre betwene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth.

Fergusius the first of that name king of Scots, Fergusius who died, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yere of the world thre thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and two hundred ninette and two before the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, but Leslie saith thre hundred and five before Christ, did write *Leges politicas lib. 1.* This man the Irish make to be there borne amongst them; for thus writeth Stanislaus in his writers of Ireland: Fergusius sonne to Fergusius king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more

part suppose to haue bene an Irishman, was in the fifti and twentith yeare of his reigne by misfortune drowned neare a rocke in the north part of Ireland, that of him at this daie is called Caersergus. Upon whose myght these verles following were made:

Icarus Icaris ut nomina fecerat vndis,
Fergusius petræ sic dedit apta sua.

Jolna.

Jolna, the ninth king of Scots, after Fergusius the first, who flourished in the year of the world, as hath Gesnerus, three thousand eight hundred twenty and six, before the birth of Christ one hundred thirtie and seven, as the same author saith; but one hundred thirtie score and one as hath Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89 did write De viribus herbarum lib. 1.

Ethodius.

Ethodius the first of that name king of Scots, who (delighting in musike) was in the year of Christ one hundred ninetie and four, and the third year of his reigne, as hath Lesleus; but one hundred ninetie and six, as hath Gesnerus; slain by a musician of the Hebrides, did write Ad Pictorum regem plures epistolas.

Celius
Sedulius.

Celius Sedulius a Scot by birth, as hath Gesnerus, which flourished about the year of Christ four hundred and thirtie, in the reigns of Fergusius the second, and Eugenius the second, kings of Scots, who being a companion to Hildebert a learned bishop of the Scots, did after the death of Hildebert for further learning travell into Spaine, France, Italie, Graece, and Asia, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 134. whome the pope Gelasius wondering at his vertue and wrking was wont to call Venerabilem, or Worthy reverence, as our English Bede is accustomed to be termed. This Sedulius did write Carmen paschale lib. 4. which books are intituled Libri mirabilium diuinorum. Besides, he penned Annotations in omnes Pauli epistolas, printed at Basill by Henrie Peter, Hymnum de seruatore. Ad Theodosium Cæsarem lib. 1. In editionem Donati lib. 1. In Pricianii volumen lib. 1. Exhortatorium ad fideles lib. 1. De Christo lib. 2. with divers other verles and epistles.

Merlinus
Calidonus.

Merlinus Calidonus otherwise called Merlinus Sylvestris, or Upalindis (a different person from him which is called Merlinus Ambrosius Britannus) was borne in the borders of Scotland, and the scholer of the British prophet Teleinus. This Merlin Calidon eructed manie prodiges or strange things against the English Sarons, which man flourishing about the year of Christ five hundred and seventie, did write De vaticinij lib. 1. in which he intreated of matter belonging to histioce.

Columbanus.

Columbanus, whome Gesnerus, Bede, and the Irish histories affirme to be an Irishman borne in Ulster, but Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta, Lesleus, & the Scottish & Englishmen name to be of other nations, as of Scotland and England, was a monke & father of manie monasteries, being Abbas Luxuriensis, as hath Gesnerus, Sixtus Senensis, and Lesle, being a place in Burgundie, which abbete he built (by the permission of Theodosius the king) together with the abbete of Fontenelle in France. This man at the first held the feaste of Easter contrarie to the west church, but in the end was reduced thereunto. He went into Almanie now Germanie, where he left saint Gall, and after passed into Italie, where he liued a most holie life in the monasterie of Bobiens, or (as hath Marianus) of Bontens, which he built for a perpetuall monument of his liberalitie, and died in the same on the twentith daie of November. He flourished in the time of Conballus king of Scots, about the year of our redemption five hundred ninetie and eight, and left these books to posteritie, Commentaria in totum psalterium lib. 1. Epistolarium lib. 1. Mona-

steriorum methodos lib. 1. Aduersus Theodoricum regem adulterum lib. 1. De moribus monachorum metrice lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos lib. 1.

Briget, a most holie woman, whome the Irish Briget,

affirme to be borne in Ulster, but Gesnerus and Lesle with the Scots do affirme her to be borne a Scot, being by Gesner called Brigida Lagenensis, she became religiouse, and was veiled by the bishop of Watt, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 149. She flourished about the year of our Lord five hundred thirtie score and eight, as hath Lesleus, in the reigne of Conballus king of Scots; some other saie she flourished in the year five hundred and ten, Gesnerus in the year of Christ five hundred and eightie, and wrote twelve books of reuelations verie darke and full of mysteries, which books Lesleus will not haue to be written by this Briget a Scottish woman, but by Briget called Brigita Suetica that flourished manie yeres after this Scottish Briget, writing thus: Imperite tamen hanc nostram cum Brigita Suetica, cuius nomine reuelationes multe inscribuntur, quidam confundunt: siquidem multis sculis hanc Brigita nostra fuisse posteriore fatis conflat. Tanta veneratione Scotti, Picti, Britanni, Angli & Hibernenses diuam Brigitanam sunt ubique prosecuti, ut plura templo Deo in illius memoriam apud illos omnes erecta vides, quam in vilius & ceterorum diuorum omnium. Illius sanctum corpus Hibernici, Duni, quo loco sancti Patricij illorum apostoli corpus seruatur se habere contendunt. Nostri candem gloriam sibi videntur, qui idipsum in canonicorum collegio Abrenethi recte se colere haec tenus puerantur, &c. Touching which I haue read these old verles, by whiche the Irishmen chalenge her with Columbanus and Patricius to be buried in Ireland, which verles are thus:

Hister in Duno tumulo tumulatur in vno,

Brigita Patricius atque Columba pius.

Maidulphus or Maidulphus Scotus, as Gesnerus termeth him, did flourish in the year of our Lord six hundred four score and nine, he wroght De Paschatis obseruationes, whom I take to be Maidulphus, who was notable learned in the Graece and Latine, first a scholemaster, and after abbat of Palmsburie called in the beginning Maidulphi curia, or Maidulphus, after the name of this Maidulphus, who as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 137. did flourish in the year of Christ seven hundred and fiftie. Now it is certeine both by our and the Scottish chronicles, that Maidulphus the builder of Palmsburie monasterie was a Scot.

Willianus a Scot being a monke, was martyred in Germanie about the year of our Lord six hundred thirtie score and nine, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, but Lesleus affirmeth him to liue in the government of Ethelstanus, which died in the year of our Lord seven hundred thirtie score and two, being the thirtith yere of his reigne. This Willianus did write Contra peregrinos cultus, lib. 1. Gesner also out of Mat. Dreslerus names Lectura Kiliani super magistrum sententiarum, which peraduenture might be this Willianus the Scot.

Jonas Monachus being borne in Scotland, and the disciple of the abbat Columbanus, flourished in the year of Christ six hundred and thirtie, as hath Gesnerus, he wroght Vitam sancti Columbani lib. 1. Vitam sancti Eustacij abbatis lib. 1.

Adamannus Coludius, being a Scot as hath Gesner out of Bale, was a monke of the apostolicall order, and moderator, ruler, or abbat of the monastrie in the Isle of Huas, who flourished in the years of Christ six hundred four score and ninetene, and wroght De locis terra sancta lib. 1. De situ Ierusalem lib. 1. De pascheta legitimo lib. 1. Epistolas multas. From this mans works Bede affirmeth that he had

had manys things which he inserted in his owne booke. But I much doubt whether this Adamannus were a Scot, in that he is called Adamannus Coludius, that is Adam of Coludi, which Coludi is a place in Powkesshire belonging to the bishoprike of Powke, and now at this date is in English called Calwood.

Florentius (whom Scotland brought forth flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred fourte score and eight, in which yeare Eugenius the first king of Scots began his reigne) was, as hath Lesleus, noble boyn, who travelling into strange countries, converted manie from paganism into Christ, leading a most austere life in the solitary woods, not far from Brulchius the famous riuere in Alsatia, and built a monasterie for such religious persons as came to him out of Scotland, being after the death of Rotharius by the Argentines made their bishop. He was buried in that monasterie before named, builded for his Scots. This man I take to be the same man of whom thus writteh Gesnerus: Florentius Volulenus Scotus scriptit theologicā orationē sive cōmendationē piam & eruditam; Grifphius excudit Lugduni 1539. Idem de animi trāquillitate carmen ibidem excusum 1543: & Basiliæ apud Ioannē Oporinum cum pīs aliquot poetis an. 1551, Idem edidit aphorismos beatae vita & dialogum de animi tranquillitate, which maie be the booke of that matter before mentioned.

Artuillus, or Artuillus a wortlie gentleman, the sonne of a most noble person borne in Scotland, flourished, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ seven hundred and ten, but Lesleus appointeth him to haue lived in the time of Eugenius the eight of that name king of Scotland, who as he farther saith, began his reigne in the yeare of Christ seven hundred thre score and two, this Artuillus wrot De rebus mathematicis libri vñ, ad Adelimum episcopum lib. 1.

Sebūlius Junio, being bishop of the south Scots did write Statuta concilij Rome ad sanctum Petrum habiti, and lived in the yeare of Christ seven hundred and fourteene.

Bonifacius, as hath Marianus Scotus by the wortnesse of Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 166, being of the Scottish bloud, went to Rome, from whence by pope Gregorie the second he was sent into Germanie to convert them to the faith, where he was made the first archbishop of Mentz, being called the Germane apostle, after which he was the popes legat and sent into France: In qua (as saith Lelle) Thuringis, Hessis, & Austrasianibus ad rectam religionis viam tradidit, messem longè copiosissimam collegerat; after which he went againe into Germanie, & from thence into Frisia, where he was martyred in the yeare of Christ seven hundred fiftie and five, who being a monke of the order of saint Benet, did wrie; Epitolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Vitam quorundam sanctorum lib. 1.

Ioannes Mailrose whom Gesnerus maketh mention to be all one with Ioannes Scotus, being the companion of Alcuinus, in the time of Charles the great: this man being skilfull in all divine knowledges, liued in the time of Donald the first of that name king of Scotland, as saith Lesleus bishop of Rosse, and also flourished in the time of Gregorie king of Scots, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fourteene and twelue. This Ioannes Scotus after many yeares spent at Athens in the Greke letters, was called into France by Lodouic the emperor of the Romans, who besides other monuments of his learning, at the commandement of the said emperor, did turne the Hierarchie of saint Denis into Latine, besides the commentaries of Hugo de San-

to Viadore, a most notable divine. Shortlie after which, the said John was sent by Charles the great into England, to Alured, or Alfred the king therē, to congratulacō, wortlie a prince for the victories which he had of the Danes: who after that he had settel a perfect league betwēne the French and the Scots, remained in England continuallie, interteined by Alured, of whose children he was admitted to be chiefe scholemaister and instructor.

But shortlie after, professing diuine and humane learning in the monasterie of Palmesbūrie, to all such as wold come to his lecture, he was by certeine scholers of his (whose pride and euill conditions he did sharpe rebuke, wounded & killed pitifullie with Pugionibus, as saith Lesleus. Which John, the king of England (as I suppose) by the authority of the pope, procured to be numbered amongst the martyrs of Christ, ordaining a notable monument to be erected over him in the same monasterie: of whose writings and doings thus writteh Gesnerus in these wordes: Ioannes Mailrosius cognomine & natione Scotus, Alcuini socius, scriptit super canones Aizachelis lib. 1. Ad Carolū regē lib. 1. Versus diuersi generis lib. 1. In euangel. Mat. lib. 3. De officijs humanis lib. 8. De officijs diuinis lib. 1. Dialogum de natura lib. 1. De natura diuisione lib. 1. De primo rerū principio lib. 1. De eucharistia lib. 1. Commentaria scripturarum lib. 1. Homilias eruditas lib. 1. De German, iuxta Irenium lib. 1. Claruit anno 792, Baleus: Idem libros Dionysij Areopagita in Latinam linguam transtulit. Carmen eius ad Carolum magnum extat apud M. Dress.

Kennethus king of Scots, who died in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fiftie & five, wrot a booke of godlie lawes which are exprest by Lesleus lib. 1. Kennethus
king of
Scots. pag. 75. of whome thus writteh Gesnerus: Kennethus Scotorum rex, Alcuini regis filius, scriptit Breuiarium antiquarum legum, quibus in foris per Angliam iurisconsulti vtuntur. But in that Gesner is deceived; for we never read (as far as my memorie serueth) that ever the English borrowed lawes of the Scots; but contrarie, the Scots haue borrowed, & beine inforsed to obide the lawes of England, as receyving them from the kings of this land, their superior lords: to whome they haue done their homage, although time hath now wozne the same out of use.

Claudius Clemens, by birth a Scot & a monke, being the disciple of Bede, was companion to Alcuinus or Alcuinus, as saith Sixtus Senensis in bibliotheca sancta: he was verie studious in the scriptures, & skilfull in other humane knowleges, who liuing in the time of Charlemaine, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred, and eight hundred and ten, did in verse and prose wrie manie learned works, wherof these are knowne to be his: In pentateuchum lib. 5. In Iosua lib. 1. In Iudicium lib. 1. In Ruth lib. 1. In psalterium. In Mathæum lib. 1. In Paulum ad Galatas. De euangelistarum concordia. Contra Bonifacium Anglum, & alia multa.

Beornwillus bishop of the Scots, of whome thus writteh Parker in his booke of the lives of the archbishops of Canturburie: Beornwillus Scotorum episcopus acerrimus verborum & sententiarum aculeis carmine scriptis, monachorum turbam lacepsuit: which Beornwillus was also at the councell of Calne in Wiltshire in England, about the yeare of Christ nine hundred thre score and fourteene. For Alfrida the queene procured Alfrith or Alfred earle of Mercia in England, that he shold labor to haue this Beornwill to be present there, which this bishop Beornwill did performe, and behementlie spake in defense of the secular priests, against the placing of monks in their romes.

Leninus

The historie of Scotland.

Lemius archbishop of the Scots, being martyred, and so termed a martyr, is supposed to haue written certeine homilies; he flourished as hath Gesnerus out of Balc, in the year of Christ one thousand and seven, under the government of Crime and Malcolme (the second) kings of Scots.

Malcolme.

Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who began his reigne in the year of Christ one thousand and ten, and reigned thirtie yeares, departing the world in the year of Christ one thousand and fortie, did write of his countreis lawes, Lib. 1. being at length slaine by his owne courtiers.

Mariannus
Scotus.

Mariannus Scotus is called, because that he was boyn in Scotland, was a monke of the order Benedictine, who when he perceiued all the realme of Scotland to be kynedled with continuall and evill hatred in the time of the tyrant Mackbeth, beginning his reigne in the year of Christ one thousand fortie and six, he forsoke his countreis, and first came unto the monasterie of Hulda in Germanie; where for a time he continued under Richard the abbat (a Scot, no lesse famous for his godlineesse, than for his learning) which at the time of his commyngh thither, had the government of the same abbeie. After whiche, Mariannus went to Menth, and passing ouer a solitarie life by the space of thirtie yeares, in an opinion of all men for his vertue, he thortie after died, who (flourishing under the said tyrant Mackbeth, & Malcolme the third of that name king of Scots) did leue behind him these works of his: Chronica ab initio mundi vsque ad sua temporalib. 3. De concordantia euangelistarum lib. 1. De computo lib. 1. Emendationes Dionysij. Annotations scripturarum. De cyclo paschali. Algoridum. Breuiarium in Lucam. Epistolas hortatorias, obiit Maguntia, anno Dom. 1086.

Turgotus.

Turgotus by Gesner called deane of Durham, and by our chronicles called prior of that house, was a verte vertuous person, and after created bishop of saint Andrewes, who being in life in the year of Christ one thousand fourscore and sixteen, in the time of Malcolme the third, surnamed Camoir, or with the great head king of Scots, did myte De Scotoru regibus lib. 1. Chronica Dunelmensis lib. 1. Annales sui temporis lib. 1. Vitam Malcolmi regis, & vitam Margareta Anglia reginæ. In whiche Gesner hath mistaken himselfe, for there was not ante Margaret quæne of England manie hundred yeres after this Turgotus, vntill the latter time of king Edward the first. Wherefore it shold rather be the life of saint Margaret quæne of Scotland, and the wife of that Malcolme.

David
Scotus.

David Scotus, of whom Gesner maketh two distinct writers one after another, first setting downe David Scotus, and next David Presbyter Scotus, this man being boyn in Scotland, was first schoolmaister at Wliceburgh, who being after called into the court by Henrie the first the emperor, of whom Auentinus abbas Vrliengensis & manie others do write, was after made bishop of Bangor in Wales. This man writing the discourse of the tourneie whiche the emperor Henrie the first made into Italie after the pacification had betweene him and the pope about the inuestiture of bishops, did occasion William of Malmesburi to saie thus much of him in his first booke De regibus. At verò Henricus antiquis Cesaribus in nulla virtute deiector, post pacatum regnum Theutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum; rebellionem urbium subingaturus, quæstionemque de inuestitura suo libito recissurus; sed iter illud ad Romanis magnis exercitationibus peccatorum magnis angoribus corporu consummatu. David Scotus Bangorensis episcopus exposuit, magis regis gratiam quam historicum deceret accluivis. He lived and pro-

spred about the yeaer of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ten in the times of Edgar and Alexander (the first) kings of Scotland, & did write Henrici imperatoris in Italiæ expeditionem lib. 1. Magistratum insignia lib. 1. Apologian ad Cæsarem de regno Scotie lib. 1.

Richardus de sancto Victore (of whom I do not as yet find ante mention in Gesner, but in John sancto victore, Major and Lelius) lived in the yeaer of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and four, vnder David the first king of Scotland, who being a religious person of the order of saint Augustine, and not inferior to ante divinitate of his time, aswell in scholasticall as other divinitie, did set forth manie works to be read, & was buried in the cloister of saint Victor in Paris, whose monument is yet to be seene with this epitaph recited by John Major in his memoriall:

*Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,
Pulvereo hic regis doce Richarde situ:
Quem tellus genuit felici Scoti caput,
Te fœt in gremio Gallica terra suo.
Nil tibi parca ferox noctis, nec flamina paruo
Tempore tracta gravi rupit acerba manu:
Plurima namque tui superant monumenta laboris,
Quæ tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.
Segnior ut lento scelerat as mors petit edes,
Sic propero nimis it sub pia tecta gradus.*

Walter the balfard sonne of David the first of that name king of Scots by a widow sometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was so far estranged from the batne things of this world, that from his youth he was (as saith Lelius lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholie consecrat to holi exercises and offices, being first inured with the rich canonicie of saint Oswald, and after with the honorable priorie of Kirkham. But he rightlie considering with himselfe that there was nothing whiche did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idlenesse, did refuse the archbishoprike of saint Andrewes, and closed himselfe in a monasterie, where he remained vntill he was advanced to be abbat of Melrose, wherevnto being so preferred, he was the autho: and occasion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, surnamed the virgin) lated the foundation of manie abbeies. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Ecclesiasticall rule, and at length being famous through manie miracles (as that age did simple suppose) he was installed amonst the number of the saints, and flourished vnder the same king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the yeaer of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and thre, which Walter I suppose to be the same man of whom Gesnerus wroteth in his booke: Gualterns Albanensis monachus scriptit de libris ecclæsiae lib. 1. claruit anno Domini 1180.

Walter the balfard sonne of David the first of that name king of Scots by a widow sometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was so far estranged from the batne things of this world, that from his youth he was (as saith Lelius lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholie consecrat to holi exercises and offices, being first inured with the rich canonicie of saint Oswald, and after with the honorable priorie of Kirkham. But he rightlie considering with himselfe that there was nothing whiche did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idlenesse, did refuse the archbishoprike of saint Andrewes, and closed himselfe in a monasterie, where he remained vntill he was advanced to be abbat of Melrose, wherevnto being so preferred, he was the autho: and occasion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, surnamed the virgin) lated the foundation of manie abbeies. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Ecclesiasticall rule, and at length being famous through manie miracles (as that age did simple suppose) he was installed amonst the number of the saints, and flourished vnder the same king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the yeaer of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and thre, which Walter I suppose to be the same man of whom Gesnerus wroteth in his booke: Gualterns Albanensis monachus scriptit de libris ecclæsiae lib. 1. claruit anno Domini 1180.

Thomas Liermant alias Crisilton being boyn in Scotland, was had amongst the common people in great admiration, who not being greatlie learned did by a certeine divination (as though Apollo had spoken from the certeine) foretell things to come, but with what spirit we will not judge, whose words obtained the more authoritie and credit, because he had foretold the fatall date of the death of Alexander the third king of Scots, which lost his life in the yeaer one thousand two hundred fourscore and thre. He wrot Predictiones rerum Scoticarum richmiciis versibus, speaking most commonlie also in rime, and was therefore by the English surnamed Richmucus, or the Rimer, living some yeaers after the death of Alexander the third, for Gesner maketh him to flourish in the yeaer of Christ one thousand two hundred fourscore and six.

Michaell

Michaell
Medicuſ.

Michaell Medicus, being a learned man in all philosophie, astronomie, and the other mathematiks, whereby he grew in admiration amongst the people, is twise mentioned by Gesner, a fault which I manie times find in his Bibliotheca, first pag. 607, by the name Michael Mathematicus cognomine Scotus, who flourished in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, and in the yeare of Christ 1290, being an old man, he wrote In gratia Frederici 2. imperatoris. De sphaera lib. 1. In Aristotelis meteora lib. 4. De confiſtutione mundi lib. 4. De anima lib. 1. De celo & mundo lib. 2. De somno & vigilia lib. 2. De generatione & corruptione lib. 2. De substātia orbis lib. 1. De ſenſu & ſenſato lib. 2. De memoria & reminiſcentia lib. 2. Contra Auerroem in meteora lib. 1. Imagines aſtronomicas lib. 2. Astrologorum dogmata lib. 1. In ethica Aristotelis lib. 10. De ſignis planetarum lib. 1. De chiromantia lib. 1. De physiognomia lib. 1. Abbreviations Aulcenſia lib. 1. De animalibus ad Caſarem lib. 1. Whose booke of physnomie was pyncted at Venice Anno Dom. 1503. by John Baptista Hellſ.

John Duns.

John Duns by ſome called Iohannes Scotus, and feareid the ſubtil doctor, was ſo ſurnamed Duns of the towne of Duns, eight miles from England, who (when he was yet but a boke) was by two ſtret minos brought into England to Oxford, there to be instructed: for at that time no long after was there not anie univerſitie in Scotland. By means of which two ſtret he was placed in a houſe of their profeſſion, in which this Duns at length tooke the habit and order of the Franciſcans, proving of a moſt ſingular wit, whereby he became a ſharpe and ſubtil diſputer, who departing from Oxford, went to Paris, being called thither by the frier minos, where when he had ſo ſome ſpace remained, and read into them of ſcholaſticall matters, he traueld to Cullen, and therre vntimelie died in his yonthfull yeares. He liued in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1283. 40 of whiche Duns all they which follow his opinions are (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 250) called Scotiſtē or Scotiſtē as all they of an other faction are ſurnamed Thomiſtē or the Thomiſtē, after Thomas Aquinas. But now in our age it is grovone to be a common prouerbe in deriſion, to call ſuch a person as is ſenſelesſe or without learning a Duns, which is as much as a ſcole: althoſh trulie the ſame cannot ſaide with anie reaſon, this man Duns being ſo famous for his learning as he was, who wrote manie volumes as affer shall apere. But before I come to him, I think it not vnfitt to ſet downe what other haue written touching him, ſith both the English, the Irelle, and the Scots, do challenge him to be their countrman, borne amongst them. Thus therefore wylleth Stanihurst in his deſcription of Ireland vnder the title of the Irelle writers, Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irelleman borne, as in the forefront of this treatife I haue declared. Nowbeit Iohannes Maior a Scotiſh chronicler lib. 4. cap. 16. would ſaine prove him to be a Scot. Leland on the other ſide ſaith, that he was borne in England. So that there ſhall be as great contention riſe of him as in old time there roſe of Homers countrie, for the Cologonians ſaid that Homer was borne in their countrie, the Chylians claimed him to be theirs: the Salaminians aduocated that he was their countrman. But the Smirnians were ſo ſtriftie bent in proving him to be borne in their territoie, as they wold at no hand take no natiue in the matter, and therepon they did conſecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countrman ſo euer this Scotus were, he was doubtleſſe a ſubtil and profounde Clarke. The onelie fault wherewith he was dufked,

was a little ſpice of vainglorie, being givuen to carpe and laſton his predecessorſ diuines, rather for blentning the fame of his aduersaries, than for aduancing the truſh of the coniouerſies. Thus much Stanihurst. Now the booke whiche he wrote were theſe: Super ſententias lib. 4. Quodlibeta quoque lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 4. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. Comentarios Oxoniensē lib. 4. Reportationes Parisiensē lib. 4. In metaphysica quæſitionē lib. 1. Quæſitiones vniuersaliū lib. 2. Quæſitiones predicationē lib. 1. In analyticā posteriorā lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In Categories ciuilem lib. 1. Lecturam in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentaria in euangelia lib. 4. In epiftolas Pauli. Collectiones Parisiensē. Tetragrammatum lib. 1. & alia. Claruit Anno Dom. 1308. Of whiche booke thus further wylleth Gesner. Iohanni Scoto ſententiarum interpreti primāuam ſacraſtām Dionysij translationem aſcribunt, cum alteri cūdām Iohanni Scoto (before named, and liuing about the yeare of Christ eight hundred ninetie & two, about thre hundred yeares before this Duns) Qui illi multis ſeculis antecellit, & Achaenī Grecē dicit, acceptra referrit debeat. Of the death of this man ſee Petrus Crinitus lib. 24. cap. 11. De honesta vita, where he affirmeſt that this Duns did turne the hierarchy of S. Denys out of Grecē into Latine.

Thomas Warreſt or Warrate flouriſhed at the battell of Outerbuerne, which was in the yeare of Christ one thouſand three hundred eightie and eight, in the time of Robert the ſecond of that name king of Scots, at that time the English were put to the woorſt. This man upon this victorie did compoſe manie things in Latine rime beginning in this ſort: *Muſareſt fatum fore ſcriptum carmine vatum, &c.* Who being maſter and ruler of Beldwallie, is not greatlie eſteemed of the ſcotiſh hiftorographers. Gesnerus referreth the time wherin he liued, to the yeare of Christ one thouſand two hundred and ninetie, which is almoſt a hundred yeares before that, in which the hiftories of ſcotland make anie mention of him.

William Elphinstone being borne in ſcotland was a great learned man, but because I do ſind one hundred and ſortie yeares diſference touching the time wherin he liued, ſet downe within thre or fourre lines the one of the other by Gesnerus, I will ſaide nothing of him, but onelie verbatim ſet downe the words of the ſame author in this ſort. Gulielmus Elphinston natione Scotus, Albonensis epifcopus, ſcripti antiquitates Scotorum, & conciliorum ſtatuta librum vnum. Claruit anno Domini 1480. Laudat hunc valde Bostonus Buriensis in magno ſcriptorum catalogo, ob ſingularem eruditioñem. Vixit circa annum 1340. Thus much Gesnerus.

James ſteward the firſt of the name of James, James ſteward, being brought vp in England as a person elſtā, is by Gesnerus ſaid to haue borne by ſome called Robert the third, which can not be ſo; for he that was ſo named was John ſteward, and not James. This man in the time whilſt he remained in England, being a kind of baniſhment from his owne countrie, did compoſe one booke of verſes, and manie other ſongs, he being both a learned diuine, philosopher, and muſician, who was in the end ſlaide of his owne people, in the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand four hundred thirtie and ſix.

Johannes Maior borne in ſcotland, whom Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca ſancta dooth (not rightlie) call an Engliſhman, was brought vp in Oxford, where attēting to ſufficient learning, he went into France for the obteining further knowledge

ledge, and applied his studie in Paris, where he followed and professed divinitie, as appeared by his owne workes. He was borne at Haddington in Scotland, as appeareth by Gesnerus, of whome he is named Iohannes Maior Haddingtonensis, he did write Decisions sententiarum lib. 4. Sophisticalia Parisiensia, Placita theologica, Commentarios in Mathæum, Historiarum majoris Britannia lib. 6. Caxtonum Angulum transtulit lib. 7. He florished at Paris, as hath Gesnerus, in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred & twentie, vnder James the fift king of Scots, unto whome he dedicated his Storie of Britaine, conteining England and Scotland. There is one John Paton boughed and aledged in Crisopasio Ioan. Eccij, whiche I do take to be this man. And Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta amongst the writers of the bible doth speake of one John Paton in this manner: Iohannes Maior Anglus scriptit in quatuor euangelia scholastica postillam, and liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand and four hundred, being an hundred and twentie yeares before the time appointed by others, and by Paton himselfe wherein he shoulde liue. Of which Paton Buchanan hath verie scottingly set downe these fourte verses here bider written as followeth:

Cumscatæt rugis solo cognomine Maior,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,
Non mirum titulus quod se veracibus ornat,
Nec semper mendax fungere Creta solet.

william Gre-
gorie.

William Gregorius borne in Scotland, and student in Paris, where he professed divinitie, did liue, as saith Bibliotheca sancta, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seventene, and also, as hath Bibliotheca Gesneri in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentie and seuen. He left manie books behinde him whiche he had carefullie and learnedlie written, whereof these are the titles: De dupli potestate lib. 1. Elucidationes sententiarum lib. 4. Quæstiones vesperales lib. 1. In politica Aristotelis lib. 8. De triplici animæ potentia lib. 1. De regno Christi xtero lib. 1. De triplici principatu lib. 1. De scripturæ sensibus lib. 3. Ad vocabulare theologicum lib. 1. Collectiones Sorbonicas lib. 1. De disciplina Iuniorum lib. 1. De sacra synaxi lib. 1. In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Sermones in euangelia & epistolas per circuitum lib. 2.

Hector Boe-
tius.

Hector Boetius of Dundee in Scotland, was a learned and an eloquent historiographer, whose stile in manie parts goeth beyond the truth of times, places, and persons in his Scottish historie. He florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand thre hundred twentie and six, vnder James the fift king of Scots, of whome I will saie no more, but set downe Gesnerus words: Hector Boetius Deidonatus, natione Scotus, scriptit catalogum regum Scotia. Descriptiones eiusdem regni lib. 1. Historias Scotorum lib. 17. Aberdonensium pontificum vitas, eius historia Scotorum excusa sunt Parisijs, anno 1556: carundem historiarum à prima gentis origine cum aliarum & rerum & gentium illustratione non vulgari lib. 19. Duo postremi huius historiæ libri nunc primum emittuntur in lucem. Accessit & huic editioni eiusdem Scotorum historiæ continuatio per Ioannem Ferretrum Pedemontanum recens & ipsa scripta & edita sol. Parisijs apud Iacobum Dupuys 1580.

Gawine Dowglaſſe.

Gawine Dowglaſſe, borne of the noble house of the Dowglaſſes in Scotland, being of a rare wit and learning, was made bishop of Dunkeld; who for contention betwene him and the gouernor of Scotland, forsoke his countrey and fled into England, where he died at London, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and one, in the

time of James the fift of that name king of Scots, who in his life time did write Palatium honoris lib. 1. Aureas narrationes lib. 1. Comedias aliquot lib. 1. De rebus Scoticis lib. 1. Transtulit in patrum sermonem Aeneidem Virgilij lib. 12.

David Lindseie of the mount or hill, otherwise by his office of principall herald of the realme of Scotland, surnamed Lion, was both a knight and a learned person, as may appeare by his works written in his owne tong in verse, whiche were Acta huius temporis lib. 1. De mundi miserijs lib. 1. Tragedia Davidis Beton lib. 1. Testamentum cardinalis Beton lib. 1. as hath Gesnerus (if that booke and the tragedie of David Beton cardinal be not all one) Testamentum p̄sitaci lib. 1. Dialogus aulici & experientia lib. 1. Somnium Davidis Lindsei lib. 1. Deploratio mortis reginæ Magdalena lib. 1. Of most of whiche his works Gesnerus maketh no mention, althoough that he affirme that he florished in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred and fortie, in the time of James the fift king of Scotland, with whome in his youth this Lindseie was brought vp, and whome he after painfullie served in the court.

Patrice Hamilton, borne of the noble familie Patrice of the Hamiltons, being the neffue of the earle of merton, Arrane by his brother, was (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 427) Abbas Fenensis, who having applied his time in studie in Germanie, and followed the doctrine of Luther, did returne into Scotland, was after by the bishops condemned for an heretike, and burned in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, as haue Gesnerus and Bale in the time of James the fift of that name king of Scots. He wrote diverse booke, amongst whiche were these, De lege & euangelio lib. 1. De fide & operibus lib. 1.

Johannes Altus, so called by Gesner, being a Scot borne, had some contention with one Cusdan Altus. Prophet, to whome he did write in verse a sharpe and rebuking apologetic whiche contained one booke; besides whiche also he did write another booke Contra Antiscriton of this Prophet, & Epigrammata lib. 1. He liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie vnder James the fift.

John Bellendone or Wallentine, who florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie, and six, vnder king James the fift, translated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scottish and English, and wrote the description of Albanie or Scotland.

John Wouran being a canon regular, having applied himselfe to the studie of divinitie, wherein he much profited, did write in his owne language Catechismum fidei lib. 1. and liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortie and six, and in the fourth yere of the reigne of Marie queene of Scots.

John Herisson a Scot, living in the yere of our salvation one thousand five hundred fortie and six, being the sixt yere of Marie queene of Scots, did apply his time in the studie of divinitie, and wrote, De amplectanda in christiana religione concordia lib. 1. which was written to Edward Hen-
ry duke of Somerset protector of England.

John Mackbeth called in Latine Iohannes Macha-
bæus, being descended of a noble familie of the Scots, did follow his studie in matters of divinitie; who florishing in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and fiftie, being the eight yere of the reigne of Marie queene of Scots, did compose, De vera & falsa ecclesiæ lib. 1.

John Mackbeth boorne in Scotland, did so John Mackbeth in Germanie in the yere that the word became flesh

George
Chanan.

John

John

John

John

fele one thousand five hundreth and eight, be-
ing the sixtene yere of the reigne of Marie queene
of Scots. This man whom Gesnerus supposeth
migh syntone to be the same John Maketh before
touched, do write Anglorum ecclesie originem &
progressum lib. 1. Explicationem iure fidei lib. 1.

George Buc-
chanan.

George Buchanan an Irish Scot, greatis learned, but manis times maliciously affected, and that
so vehemently, as that he wold not forbear in the
highes degree of malice to upbald and bachebite
uerie person and nation which had offended him, as
male aypare by his manidell speches, not des-
iring a man of his learning, was scholemaster to
James the sirt of that name king of Scotland, of
whom living in the yere of Christ one thousand five
hundreth thre score and nine, I will so bearne to
saye that I could leue I might offend in that which
I woulde in him, & the more woulde I set down what
Gesner hath written of him. Georgius Buchananus
Scotus rudimenta grammatices Latine Thomae Lin-
nari ex Anglico sermone in Latinum vertit: ea Nicolai
Brilingensis impensis Basiliæ anno 1542. extant eius
& elegantissima poemata, Iephites tragedia, Lutetia
apud Vasconianum, Franciscanus & fratres, quibus ac-
cesserunt varia eiusdem & aliorum poemata, Basiliæ
apud Guarciunum an. 1568. Euclidis psalmorum pa-
raphrasis poetica, Genevæ, Argentoratæ, Antwerpimpreressa in 8 & 15, eiusdem Baptiste sive columnia
tragedia, in 8. Franco apud Wechelum. De iure regi-
ni apud Scotos editio secura, Edinburgi 1580.
Psalmi Davidis ab eiusdem versibus expediti nunc
primum modulii 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, vocum a I. Seruino de-
cantati 4 Lugduni 1580. Rerum Scholasticarum histo-
ria lib. 1. Edinburgi in folio an. 1583.

John Knokes

John Knokes boorne in Scotland, a great enimie
to the Romane religion, was sometime remaining
in England as banished from Scotland, after be-
ing returned home he preached at the coronation of
Charles James, the sirt of that name king of Scot-
land, and wxit manie bookes in the Scottish Eng-
lish, amongst which were Ad Londonenses & alios
lib. 1. Ad euangelii professores lib. 2. Qualiter si o-
randum lib. 1. Contra missam papisticam lib. 1. Do-
ctrina missam lib. 1. De fide eucharistie epistola 1.
Ad ecclesiæ afflictas epist. 1. Ad Scotiæ reginam Ma-
riam epist. 1. Concilium in his angustiis epist. 1. Buc-
cina afflatum primum lib. 1. Appellationem a sente-
tia cleri lib. 1. Ad populares Scotiæ libri vnum. He
lived in the yere of Christ 1569.

John Langie

John Langie a Scot boorne, following his studie
in Paris became a Sorbonicall doctor, who living
in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundreth thre
score and ten, did wxit a booke of the life, doctrine,
and death of Martin Luther and John Calvin, and
of manie other ministres of the newe gospell (as he
scornefullie termed it) which bookes were out of
French turned into Latine, and latelie into the
Germane tong, printed in 4 at Ingelstade in the
yere of Christ one thousand five hundreth fourre score
and two.

John Durie.

Iohannes Durus or Durie, whom Gesner cal-
leth Bureus, being boorne in Dumfermling, and the
son before he was abbat of the abbat of Dumfermling
brother to the lord of Duries, was brought up
in Paris and Louan, after which he became a priest,
and then a Jesuit, who now living deth in the yere of
Christ one thousand five hundreth fourre score and
fourre, wxit a booke which was intituled Confutatio
responsonis Iohannis Whitakeri, ad rationes decem
quibus fretus Edmundus Campianus Anglus Iesuita
certamen Anglicana ecclesiæ ministris obtulit in
causa fidei: which booke was printed at Paris in 8
by Thomas Brunelius, In claufo Brunello sub
signo oliuæ.

Patrice B-
damson.

Patrice Adamson living in the yere of Christ
one thousand five hundreth thre score and thirteene,
did wxit certeine verses, whereof this was the title

and effect, as he Geherus, Patricii Adamsi gra-
tuarum actio illustriss. & potentiss. principi Eliza-
bethæ Angel. Franc. & Hibernæ reginæ, propter libe-
ratam ciuili seditione Scotiam, & redactam munific-
iam, Edenburgi arcem sub fidem regis carmen e-
legiacum, which man being now living, is archbishop
of saint Andrews.

Patrice Cockburne boorne in Scotland, and flour-
ished in the yere of Christ one thousand five hund-
reth thre score and ten, in the time of Marie queene of Scots,
p. 10. De uilitate & excellencia verbi Dei, which
was printed at Paris by Michell Fezandate, and
Robert Cranou, in the yere of our Lord one thou-
sand five hundreth fiftie and one. He wxit also De
vulgaris sacre scripture phrasib, lib. 2. whereof the first
both intreat of the sinne against the Holie ghost,
which they call tremitable or unto death: the se-
cond booke doth with great diligence and fidelite
unfold the most hard and most obscure places of
both the testaments, hitherto by manie enclite bri-
dered, and worse interpretet: which wroke was
printed at Paris by Robert Pesselline in the yere of
our Lord one thousand five hundreth fiftie and two
in 8 chart. 13.

John Beke sometime officiall of Aberdeen, and John Leslie,
bishop of Rose, of whom I have spoken in the con-
tinuance of the annals of Scotland, being an obedi-
tate fauor and furtherer of the Romane religion
both yet live in the yere of Christ one thousand five
hundreth eightie & six, in the time of Charles James
the sirt king of Scots, and hath written Pii afficti a-
nimi consolationes diuinaque remedia lib. 1. Animi
& rebus gestis Scotorum lib. 10. printed at Rome.

Ninianus Winzetus, who flourished in the yere
of our Lord one thousand five hundreth thre score
and one, in the time of Marie queene of Scots, was
a fauor of the popes doctrine, and enimie to John
Knokes, touching whom I will set down the wrokes
of two severall authors, whereof the one is Lesleus
a Scot, and the popes and his friend, and the other is
Bibliotheca Gesneri, whereof the first saith; Hæc res
(which was a disputation in religion) Ninianus Win-
zeto maximam apud haereticos iniuidiam conflu-
uit, ynde cum audiret illum (Ninian Winzet) iam
apud typographum calere in libro excludendo, quo
cogitarat cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nobilitatem
expostulare, consilium inuenit de opere disturbando,
Winzeto capiendo, typographo multando. Magi-
stratus cum satellitibus irruit in typographiam, libros
quos reperit, auferit, Iohan. Scotti typographi bonis
multatum in carcerem abripit: sed Winzeturum, que
tantopere cupiebant, præ foribus magistrati occur-
rentem quid incognitus elapsus fuerat, dolent haer-
eticci, rident Catholici. On the other side thus wixeth
Bibliotheca Gesneri: Ninianus Winzetus Renfrou,
S. theologia doctor, & apud sancti Iacobi apud Sco-
tos Ratipona, abbas flagellum sectariorum qui reli-
gionis prætextu iam in Cæsaré aut in alios orthodoxos
principes excitare student, querentes ineptissime
quidem, Deo ne magis an principibus sit obediendū.
Accedit velutario in Georg. Bucchan. circa dialogū,
quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos 4. Ingolstadtii
ex officina typographica Dauidis Sartorii, an. 1581.

Adam Black-
wood.

Adam Blackwood boorne in Scotland in Dum-
fermling, was brought vp in Paris, where atter-
ing to manie degræs of learning, is now living,
being aduancido to the place of one of the chiefe coun-
cillors of Poitiers. This man hath learnedlie wri-
ten manie wrokes, amongst which are his bookes De
coniunctione religionis & imperii, Funebres orationes
admirallari regni Francie, & Iacobi Stuari primi
regentis (after that Charles James the sirt, attainted
to the croonne) Scotie. Besides which having writ-
ten against the wroke of Buchanan intituled De iure
regni, he is now in hand with a booke which he wixeth
against the chronicle of the same Buchanan.

Andrew Melius one of the presbyterie in Scot
land Andrew Melius.

land, and one who cam: higher into England with the earls of Angus and Mar, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fourtye and four, hath written many epigrams, and amongst the rest, one inuictive against the ydiate mother, to the king of France, whiche beginneth Vipera cum catus.

James Cotic. James Cotic did (as hath Leslieus lib. 10. pag. 587) go to Rome, after which he became a companion of the Jesuits, who comming to Paris, trauelled by writing with his elder brother being a baron, to forsake the doctrine of Calvin; he flourished in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred threescore and one, vnder Marie queene of Scots, and did write Ad fratrem epistola 1. Responsio ad Knoxium lib. 1.

Charles James the sixt of that name king of Scots now living, a toward yong prince, and one well furnished with the gifts of nature and learning by birth and instruction, did in his yongest yeares about the age of seventeene or eighteene, write a booke of breses in his mother tong, containing manie matters of sundrie rare inventions, and of sundrie forme of breses both learned and eloquent, which booke was after published to the world; whom I haue here placed the last in this catalog of Scottish writers, to the end that I would close by the same title with no lesse honorabile and rare person, than I first made entrance therinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought god also to knit it by with a king.

This setting end to my travals touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the metesse of an hystorie required, but as my skill, helpe, & intelligences would permit), I desire this reader to take it in god part, remembryng that Vtra posse non est esse, sith according to our old proverbe, A man cannot pipe without his biper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not having anie more subiect wherupon to worke, I can do no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting my selfe with this, that In magnis voluisse sat est; I commit my selfe and my labors to thy favorable iugement, whiche measuring my meaning with the square of indifference, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shorthenesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to the that both the hystorie of England and Scotland were halfe painted before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them, as by the inserting of those things whiche I haue done male well appeare) thou shalt encourage me hereafter upon more lesse, and better storie, to deliver to the world rare matters of antiquite, and such other labors of mine (Abst verbis philautia) as male both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countre, to my prince, and to my friends. For though I make seime to be sole, yet I saie with Scripto. Nunquam minus sum otiosus quam cum sum otiosus.

Post tenebras lucem, sed nondum hora.

